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Angolans Report More Attacks by S. Africa Forces

LISBON — South African troops mounted new air and land attacks Wednesday after advancing nearly 100 miles into Angola...

Nigeria Cuts Oil Price \$4 Due to Glut

LAGOS — Nigeria Wednesday announced a \$4-cut in its oil price of \$40 a barrel, citing the surplus in the world market.

Mexico will supply the United States with oil for its Strategic Petroleum Reserve at the price \$31.80 a barrel, Page 7.

West Germany and Britain Wednesday summoned the South African ambassadors to their countries to urge an immediate withdrawal of troops from Angola.

Both are among pricing hardliners in OPEC. They produce crude of similar quality to Nigeria's for around \$40 a barrel and have also been facing a buyer revolt.

Nigeria's decision could lead to a round of OPEC price cuts as forecast Friday by the Saudi oil minister, Sheikh Ahmed Zaki Yamani, who predicts a reduction in the world average price of crude oil.

Sheikh Yamani made his prediction at the end of an emergency OPEC conference in Geneva, called by hard-pressed Nigeria to try to negotiate a new unified pricing structure for OPEC oil.

Cameras Jam on Voyager Key Pictures of Saturn Lost

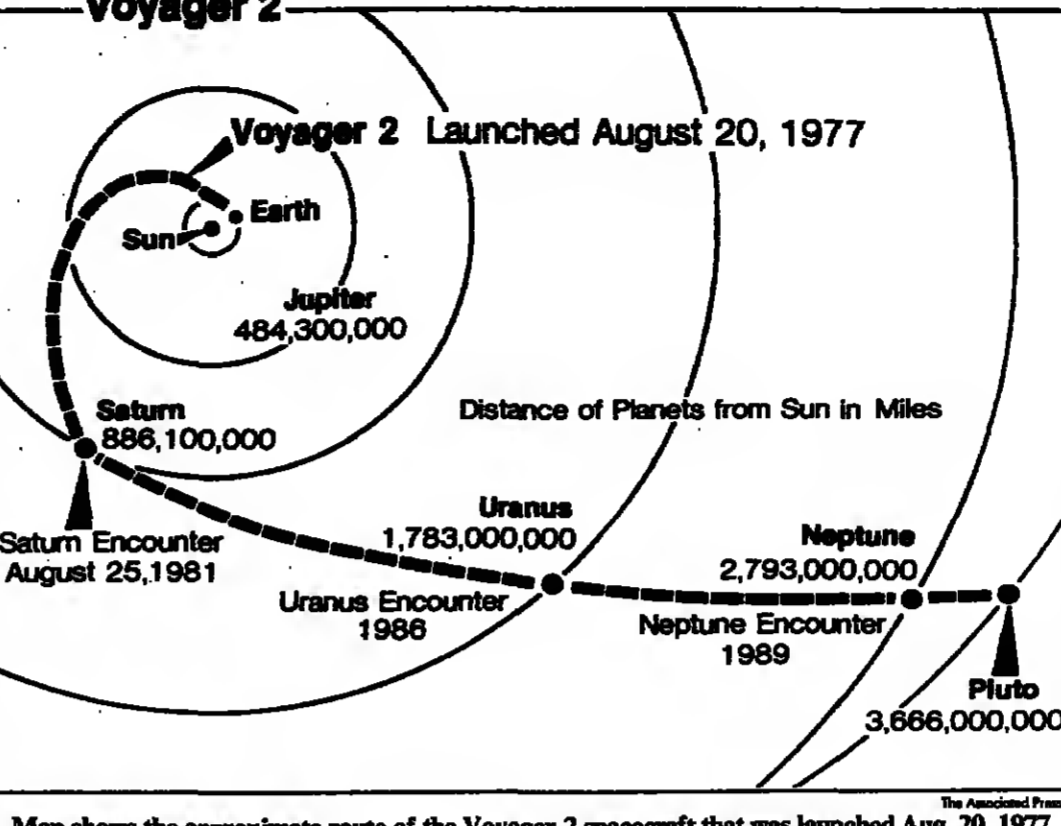
PASADENA, Calif. — Technical problems aboard Voyager-2 pointed the spacecraft's cameras uselessly into the void of space Wednesday, losing what were expected to have been key pictures of Saturn.

Somehow on the far side of the ringed planet, Voyager lost the ability to swivel its camera platform from side to side and, NASA engineers worked urgently to fix the mysterious malfunction.

The problem was serious but not critical, said spokesman Frank Bristow, because "the most important part of the mission had been accomplished before the failure."

Scientists still had not seen some of the most important pictures and data from Voyager's encounter with Saturn Tuesday night when they learned of the problem. They were stored on tape for review Wednesday morning.

Mr. Bristow said the spacecraft had already returned 10,000 to 12,000 of the mission's scheduled 18,500 photos. These included the most important views on the sunlit side of the planet's spectacular rings, and many of those being lost would have duplicated the dark side pictures taken by Voyager-1 last November, Mr. Stone said.



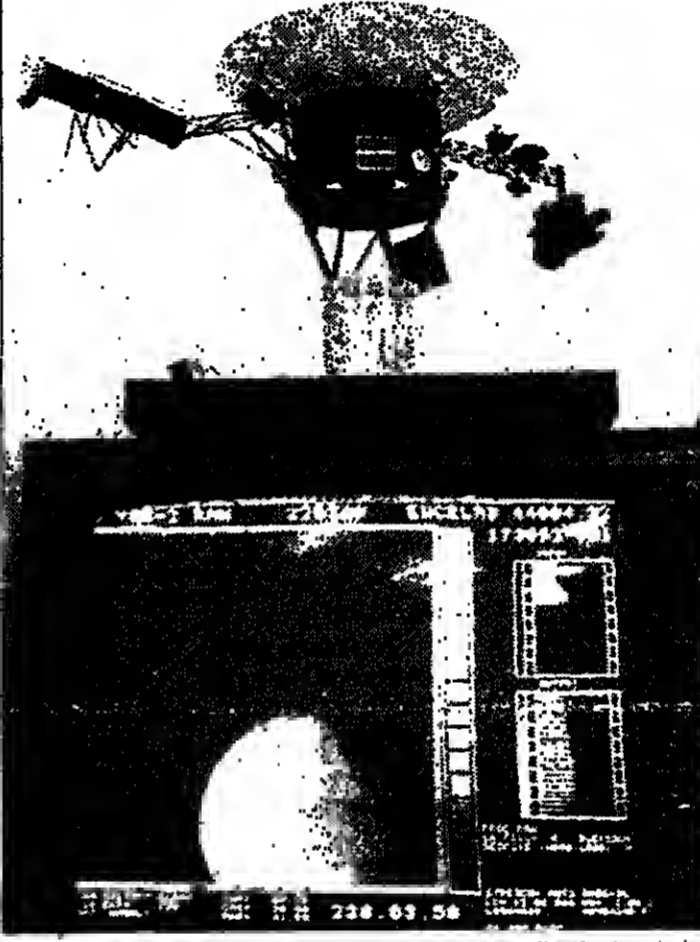
Map shows the approximate route of the Voyager-2 spacecraft that was launched Aug. 20, 1977.

violet and light polarity instruments. Mr. Laeser said the platform was unable to rotate from side to side but still could be swiveled up and down, so controllers ordered the spacecraft to swing the instruments away toward the blankness of interstellar blankness to prevent direct sun light from harming them.

Voyager-2 sped just 63,000 miles above Saturn's yellowish cloud tops — only 2.7 seconds and 30 miles off perfect targeting, after a looping 1.4-billion-mile journey to the planet.

The craft gave scientists their closest look at its stormy gas clouds and whirling snowball rings. It discovered that the planet is encircled by thousands of rings instead of the hundreds seen by Voyager-1 nine months ago.

"We're that much closer this time, and we see literally thousands of rings around the planet," said Dr. Bradford C. Smith of the University of Arizona Tuesday at the Jet Propulsion Laboratory.



This photo of Saturn's moon Enceladus, about 54,000 miles from Voyager-2, was made from a TV set at the Jet Propulsion Laboratory in Pasadena with Voyager-2 model on top of the set.

Vulnerability of U.S. Missiles Questioned

To destroy an American Minuteman missile in a fixed silo hardened by concrete to resist 2,000 pounds of pressure per square inch, a Soviet nuclear warhead must have a certain combination of explosive power or yield and a high degree of accuracy.

Accuracy is regarded as the critical variable, and there is little dispute among American intelligence experts that Soviet test firings have achieved the necessary accuracy. American missile accuracy is at least as great.

MILE MARK

In Koblenz, West Germany, Britain's Steve Ovett sets a world mile record of 3 minutes, 48.40 seconds Wednesday in an international track and field meet, breaking the week-old mark of 3:48.53 set by his countryman Sebastian Coe at Zurich.

INSIDE

Guatemala The real test of the Reagan administration's Central American policy may come in Guatemala, not El Salvador. The reason: In El Salvador the administration has been able to disguise its anti-Communism by pointing to the ruling junta's commitment to democracy and social reform. But in Guatemala, terror is institutionalized. Insights, Page 5.

Korean Changes

In Seoul, the departure from powerful positions of three prominent South Korean generals arouses speculation that President Chun Doo Hwan is engaged in a political housecleaning to consolidate his rule. All three had been close friends and advisers of Mr. Chun when he came to power. News Analysis, Page 3.

Egypt, Israel Will Discuss Palestinians

ALEXANDRIA, Egypt — President Anwar Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin said Wednesday they will restart the long-stalled talks on Palestinian autonomy. But their two-day summit failed to resolve some key differences, they indicated.

Meeting reporters at Mr. Sadat's summer home in this Mediterranean port, they said their foreign ministers would resume the talks Sept. 23 and 24. No location was given and neither man would say whether any promises or concessions were exchanged in their meetings.

Polish Cardinal Urges 30-Day Strike Truce

WARSAW — The leader of Poland's Roman Catholic church appealed to the nation for a 30-day strike truce in a bid to defuse a possible confrontation between Communist authorities and the independent trade union, Solidarity.

African Officials Set Up Plan for Western Sahara

NAIROBI — African leaders produced a plan Wednesday to end the five-year war between Morocco and Polisario guerrillas in the Western Sahara by arranging a cease-fire in the territory and a referendum on its future.

Who Sent the Green Berets on Mission to Help Libya?

Army, CIA Disown Operation After Sergeant Decided Work for Qadhafi Was 'Too Much'

The following article is based on reporting by Philip Taubman and Jeff Gerth and was written by Mr. Taubman.

HONOLULU — Four years ago, 10 men trained by the U.S. Army Special Forces went to work for the government of Libya, training terrorists.

Mr. Sadat told President Reagan in Washington earlier this month that the United States should open a dialogue with the PLO. Mr. Reagan refused, saying the PLO first must recognize Israel's right to exist.

Both men said they would not comment on these discussions, though Mr. Begin told one reporter who broached the subject: "Israel never bombed Beirut, my friend. You said rightly, the PLO headquarters, not Beirut."

Polish media: Struggle for a political power center. Page 2.

Warsaw Post Service The Polish church has frequently intervened in government-union disputes during the past year. But, except for the call to observe national mourning following the death two months ago of Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński, Msgr. Glemp's

Guatemala

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Difficult Battle

The union's confrontation on the issue of information and the course of economic reform was described in a union leadership communique Wednesday as perhaps "the most difficult battle since August of 1980" when Polish workers won the right to form an independent union.

Polish Media: Struggle for a Center of Political Power

By James M. Markham
New York Times Service

WARSAW — At a news conference last week called by the independent trade union, Solidarity, a reporter from the Communist Party daily, Trybuna Ludu, asked the union organizers of a printers' strike why they had failed to ask the population if it approved of the two-day shutdown of Poland's newspapers.

Eugeniusz Kosciulik, a leader of the Warsaw printers, shot back with an angry question of his own. "Did anyone take an opinion poll in 1944 or 1945 to find out if we wanted to be members of this bloc?" he said angrily, referring to Poland's forcible inclusion in the Soviet Union's sphere of influence at the end of World War II.

In a Communist state, Mr. Kosciulik went on, there were three centers of power: the military, the police and the propaganda apparatus. "And we have got one of them!" he exclaimed.

In outspoken Poland, the printer's sharp language was dar-

NEWS ANALYSIS

of raw political power — are now being addressed.

The newspaper strike underscored the point. The printers walked off the job because Solidarity said it was exasperated with stepped-up official criticism and wanted regular weekly television and radio time to answer the government and put across its own views.

If it wins this battle, as it has won others before, Solidarity will be in a position to cripple one of the monopolies that a Communist government relies upon to control its population: information. In Poland today, the Communist Party has few other means to defend itself, since Stanislaw Kanis, the first secretary, has renounced in principle the use of force.

The negotiations this week on

media access could thus be of tremendous importance. With regular television programs of their own, Solidarity leaders are convinced that they would be able to oblige the government-run news organizations to be more sympathetic to them.

Battle Far From Won

"Look," said Jerzy Kropiwincki, a Solidarity leader from Lodz, "even though the rules of censorship did not change in the last year, the presence of our bulletins has made the press in Poland if not good, a lot better. With us in television, the authorities will have to take public opinion more into account."

This momentous Solidarity battle is far from won, but if the authorities balk, they will probably face another printers' strike decided not so much by the union's national leadership as by the printers themselves. For one of the most dynamic characteristics of Poland's free union is that its base tends to be more radical than its nationally known leaders. The

loose structure of the union movement gives a radical rank-and-file great tactical leverage.

Lech Walesa and other Solidarity strategists have decided, for example, to press the government hard to give workers, and not the Communist Party as now tends to be the case, the power to name plant managers. But it is the engaged steel workers at the Huta Katowice complex in restless Silesia who decided to hold a referendum on retaining or sacking their boss. They are reported to have put a white wheelbarrow in front of his office to remind him that he can be carted away.

Back on the Defensive

The demonstrations, marches and strikes over food shortages that rocked Poland earlier this month welled up from backwater towns like Kutno, and were initially resisted by Mr. Walesa and other union leaders as imprudent. Though the national leadership finally called for an end to these protests on Aug. 12, dockers are still blocking shipments of Polish

harm for export in the port of Gdynia. And, though the national press strike is officially over, printers are still occupying a newspaper plant in Olsztyn, enraged by television coverage of their actions.

One result of the recent turmoil has been to puncture the mood of self-congratulatory euphoria that had momentarily invigorated the Polish Communist Party after it had adopted limited democratic reforms at its party congress just a month ago. Once more, the party and the government have been thrown on the defensive, responding to Solidarity's bold thrusts with apocalyptic warnings that national destruction awaits Poland if the unrest continues.

At the Beginning of September

At the beginning of September, when it opens its first congress in Gdansk, Solidarity will have to decide how fast, and on what issues, it is going to push the embattled Polish government. The young union movement must shape some economic salvation program to rival or mesh with the government's chart the route it will follow in managing its members, and, most daring of all, weigh the advantages and risks of lobbying openly for free elections to the Parliament and to city councils.

This Last Issue Turns on a Quagmire

Can Solidarity, nominally a trade union, guarantee and stabilize the political gains of the last year, or must it broaden and deepen its alliances through new organizations, and even political parties? The union delegates will, finally, face the organizational problem of either retaining some 50 jealously autonomous Solidarity chapters, or consolidating them into a score or so and endowing the national leadership with something more binding than Mr. Walesa's moral and charismatic authority.

The Herding is that the Federalists Will Triumph at Gdansk

leaving Solidarity volatile and shifting, but still a coalition highly responsive to its base. This, in turn, could mean that Poland's piecemeal revolution-from-below will keep rolling along at a breathless pace.

Mediterranean Sport: 'Chicken of the Sea'

By William H. Honan
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — The reported destruction of two Soviet-made Su-22 Libyan fighters by carrier-based U.S. F-14s over the Gulf of Sidra last week was the first publicly acknowledged incident in which American aircraft fired on and brought down foreign planes in the Mediterranean since World War II.

However, in that theater there have been more than 100 "hairy situations," in the parlance of U.S. pilots, and more than a dozen Soviet and American airmen have lost their lives. Most of these actions have been part of a U.S.-Soviet game of confrontation, surveillance and occasional brinkmanship — the pilots wryly call it "chicken of the sea" — which has been in progress in the area since at least 1966.

Soviet defense ministry made one of its rare acknowledgments of the loss of a military plane. The Navy conceded that jets from the Essex were in the air at the time, but said they did not "interfere with, hamper or threaten" the Soviet plane. The full Navy report on the incident remains classified.

In March, 1970, a Soviet reconnaissance jet and an American F-4 Phantom collided in midair, but without serious mishap. A wing tip of the Russian plane was dented and the Phantom had some paint scraped off.

Such Incidents in the sky have been rare

since a U.S. admiral said, not because encounters have been infrequent but because in the great majority of cases the unwritten rules of aerial etiquette are observed in exquisite detail by both Soviet and U.S. pilots.

For instance, when Soviet long-range bombers fly out of northern Russia on reconnaissance missions over U.S. ships in the Mediterranean, the bombers like tame lions, open their bomb bays when intercepted, permitting American interceptor pilots to peer up into the bays and satisfy themselves that bombs or missiles are not being carried.

Friendly Encounters

Some U.S. pilots have told of friendly and jovial encounters with Soviet airmen, not only above the Mediterranean but in other areas. The latest Playboy Playmate of the Month has been displayed to Russian pilots on a U.S. cockpit.

Phil Crossland, a U.S. pilot, recalls being saluted by a Russian pilot who held up what looked like a bottle of vodka.

Despite such high jinx, however, most of these encounters are serious business. They date back to

1966, when a Russian naval squadron first moved through the Dardanelles to establish a presence in the Mediterranean. It has now grown to a fleet of 39 ships but still has no aircraft carrier able to field high-performance jets suitable for probing the 6th Fleet.

To make up for this lack, U.S. officials say, the Russian squadron has conducted its surveillance of the 6th Fleet by using satellites, submarines, electronically equipped "fishing trawlers," and land-based jets that fly out from airports in client states. Normally, these aircraft bear markings of the nations in which they are based.

Soviet Aims

The object of this surveillance is both military and political, the Navy believes. Militarily, officials say, the Russians are testing to learn which tactics will get their aircraft to the 6th Fleet with the least risk of detection. Politically, they say, the Soviet object is to fly over the fleet — sometimes as low as 100 feet — as if to say: "We always know where you are, and if things ever got really sticky, we could annihilate your fleet just as quickly as the Japanese did at Pearl Harbor in 1941."

The message is directed not only at Washington

Soviet or Soviet-sponsored planes fly in pairs partly so that one can photograph the other skimming the deck of an American carrier. These photographs are proudly displayed at chanceries around the Mediterranean.

According to the Navy, the U.S. objective is also twofold. Militarily, the American commanders want to learn all they can about first-line Soviet ships, planes and tactics. Politically, the Americans are engaged in a form of nonverbal

communication, too. The F-14s are sent out to intercept intruders 100 miles from the carriers and then to escort them as long as they stay within that radius — as if to say: "We always know when you are coming. And if things ever got really sticky we could swat you out of the sky before you could get close enough to tell the Russian missile ships where we are, and then annihilate your fleet just as quickly as the Japanese did at the Strait of Tsushima in 1905."

U.S. interceptors snuggle up alongside the intruders with as little as 20 feet between their wings and Navy photographers snap these scenes. These photographs, like the Russian ones, are said to emerge from attaché cases in diplomatic offices around the Mediterranean.

Vulnerability of U.S. Missiles Questioned

(Continued from Page 1)

firing missiles over the pole, Mr. Metcalf says, neither is in a position to correct for the biases of gravity and weather to make warheads sufficiently accurate to destroy hardened silos.

Mr. Metcalf maintains that the MX missile is necessary to balance the strategic power of the larger Soviet missiles. But he questions whether a system of 4,600 shelters to hide 200 MX missiles at a cost of \$30 billion to \$75 billion, which the Carter administration favored, is at all necessary. The Reagan administration is considering a system of 1,000 shelters for 100 missiles at an estimated cost of \$20 billion.

Called Self-Defeating

Some experts in the Reagan administration say that, regardless of whether the Soviet Union could make missiles accurate enough to destroy the land-based part of the triad, there is nothing the United States could do about the problem in this decade.

They say the earliest that either a shelter system or an antiballistic missile system could be constructed fully and reliably would be about 1989. In their view, to advertise a problem that may not exist and certainly cannot be solved in the near term is self-defeating.

Called Self-Defeating

Their solution, and one of the alternatives presented to the president by Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger, has been to play down the issue of land-based missile vulnerability and concentrate on long-term solutions.

Some are advocating the "common missile" — essentially, the forthcoming Trident 2 missile being developed for the Trident submarine with some features of the MX missile.

It would be available in 1989 and advocates say it could be used as a land-based mobile missile in a shelter system, carried aloft and fired by an aircraft or used in submarines. They also say that it would result in considerable savings, since only one missile design would be built.

The idea is still being considered

in the White House, but there is strong opposition from the Air Force, which wants its own MX missile, and from others who doubt the viability of the principle of commonality. They say it is the worst of all worlds.

Russian Crash

In 1968, a Soviet Tu-16 reconnaissance plane crashed about five miles off the bow of the aircraft carrier Essex after making four low passes over the ship. Since remains of the fliers and pieces of uniforms were recovered by the Essex, the

Who Sent Green Beret Mission to Libya?

(Continued from Page 1)

granted, a special leave by his commanding officer.

In Washington, Sgt. Thompson and three former Green Berets received travel documents, \$1,000 in cash, airplane tickets to Zurich and a description of a man who would meet them at the airport.

"We were told to stay in the international zone and not to go through customs in Zurich," Sgt. Thompson said. "We had our war bags packed in a 400-pound locker, everything we figured we might need for a direct action mission."

\$6,500 a Month

Mr. Wilson was reported to have said the payment would be \$6,500 per month, payable in any currency the men wanted. He also offered to set up Swiss bank accounts. From Zurich, they flew to Tripoli, Sgt. Thompson said, where they were greeted by a representative from the Dalex International Corp., a Virginia company owned by Mr. Wilson. They were escorted out of the airport without a customs check and taken to a military compound where they met the chief of Libyan intelligence, Abdul Senussi.

"He wanted to know if we could supply a gas that would subdue 800 men for several hours in a desert environment," Sgt. Thompson said. "We told him that there was no such agent. He then wanted to know all about the principles of land warfare, things like vertical envelopment and the elements of surprise."

Haiti Opposition Gets Prison Term

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti — A Haitian judge Wednesday sentenced opposition leader Sylvio Claude and 23 followers to 15 years in prison for opposing the government of President Jean-Claude Duvalier.

Mr. Claude, leader of the tiny Social Democratic Party, and his followers were sentenced after a mass trial on charges of inciting rebellion, arson and insulting the president.

Mr. Claude had been under arrest since a crackdown on critics last November in which 60 persons were jailed. Two dozen others, mostly journalists, were later expelled from Haiti, which Mr. Duvalier's family has ruled for 24 years.

Nitze Expected To Complete U.S. Arms-Talk Team

WASHINGTON — Paul H. Nitze, one of the most enduring hard-liners in dealing with the Soviet Union on arms control and military matters, is likely to become the chief U.S. negotiator on limited nuclear-tipped missiles based in Europe, according to administration officials.

"It's about 80-percent certain," an official said, referring to the prospects that Mr. Nitze, 74, a conservative Democrat who has served Republican and Democratic administrations for more than 30 years in national security jobs, would handle the upcoming talks with Moscow.

Qadhafi Praises Syrians, Revives Merger Proposal

DAMASCUS — Libyan leader Col. Moammar Qadhafi has thanked Syria for its steadfastness in our confrontation with Israel and "American aggression" and revived a dormant plan for the merger of Libya and Syria.

Addressing a meeting of President Hafez al-Assad's ruling Arab Socialist Baath Party on Tuesday, he spoke angrily of the aerial battle last week in which two U.S. Navy F-14s shot down two Soviet-made Libyan warplanes. He also called for "material" measures to implement the year-old merger agreement.

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Pontiff Grants Audience

CASTEL GANDOLFO, Italy — Pope John Paul II, overriding the wishes of his doctors and protected by exceptional security measures, today held his first general audience since he was shot in St. Peter's Square on May 13.



Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin, meeting Wednesday in Alexandria, Egypt, announced plans to resume the stalled talks on Palestinian autonomy.

Palestinian Autonomy Talks to Reopen

(Continued from Page 1)

three months between the leaders, who have pledged to work within the U.S.-sponsored Camp David accords of September, 1978, to widen peace with other Arab nations opposed to Israel's existence.

Mr. Sadat angrily called off the talks in early August of 1980 in response to Israel's annexation of East Jerusalem.

Mr. Sadat had said he was also angered by Israel's policy of colo-

nizing the West Bank with Jewish settlements, and he alleged that Arabs living on Israeli-occupied lands were being treated improperly.

Both leaders said the United States will remain a full partner in the quest for Palestinian autonomy

one of Camp David's provisions, but did not specify how U.S. representatives would participate in renewed talks.

Mr. Sadat said he hoped Jordan's King Hussein would join in talks for an overall Middle East settlement after Israel and Egypt reach agreement on the autonomy issue. Jordan, which lost territory to Israel in the 1967 War, has opposed the Camp David accords as being too vague on autonomy.

The Egyptian president said the truce between Israel and Palestinians in southern Lebanon, which ended 10 days of fighting last month, could be a starting point for dialogue with the PLO. The cease-fire was mediated by the United States, United Nations and Saudi Arabia, which gives the PLO financial support.

Mr. Begin is scheduled to begin his talks Tuesday night, Israeli and Egyptian officials were clearly even lacking in agreement on just what this summit would seek to accomplish.

Despite the clear divergence of their pre-summit positions

the talks got off to a cordial, if strained start, officials said.

Taking part with Mr. Begin was Defense Minister Ariel Sharon, Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir and Yosef Burg, interior and religious affairs minister.

Mr. Sharon held separate talks with Egypt's defense minister, Gen. Abdul Halim Abu Ghazala, in the final Israeli withdrawal from Egypt's Sinai Peninsula next April.

Interest in the sort of resolution Mr. Begin would receive in Washington was one reason the Israeli leader was so keen to have his meeting with Mr. Sadat, which seemed that little would come of it, Israeli officials here indicated.

U.S. Postal Service Considers Sale Of Space for Ads, Even on Stamps

(Associated Press)

WASHINGTON — In search of a way to cut chronic deficits, the Postal Service is considering selling advertising space on delivery vehicles, its post office lobbies and even on stamps.

The Postal Service published a notice in Tuesday's Federal Register asking for public comment on what would be a reversal of a long-standing policy against selling ads.

Possible places for the ads also include covers of stamp booklets, and on airmails, postmarks, postal cards and postage meter strips. No estimate was available of how much revenue the proposal would bring in.

WORLD NEWS BRIEFS

French Cabinet Guillotines Death Penalty

PARIS — The French Cabinet has approved a bill abolishing the death penalty, ending two centuries of executions by guillotine.

The bill will go before Parliament Sept. 17 and approval was considered certain since the lower house is dominated by President Francois Mitterrand's Socialist. Recent public opinion polls showed that a majority of those questioned favored retaining the death penalty as a deterrent.

The decision to dismantle the guillotine fulfilled a Mitterrand campaign pledge to abolish capital punishment. The guillotine has been in use since the French Revolution of 1789. Seven men are currently under death sentences in France.

Thatcher Refuses to See Irish Republican MP

LONDON — Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher Wednesday turned down a request from newly elected Northern Ireland member of Parliament, Owen Carron, for an urgent meeting on the Maze Prison hunger strike.

Mr. Carron, 28, was elected Thursday to fill the Fermagh South Tyrone seat left vacant by the death of Bobby Sands, first of 10 hunger strikers to die in a campaign to win political status for Republican prisoners.

In rejecting Mr. Carron's plea for a meeting, Mrs. Thatcher, returning to her London office after vacation, said that Michael Allison, deputy to Northern Ireland Secretary of State Humphrey Atkins, was prepared to meet the new MP.

Knesset Debates Excavation of Burial Site

JERUSALEM — Israel's parliament, the Knesset, went into special session Wednesday to debate a row between rabbis and archaeologists on an issue that poses delicate political problems for the new government of Prime Minister Menachem Begin which is dependent on religious parties for staying in power.

The issue was referred to the Knesset Education Committee after a brief debate. In dispute is an order from the nation's chief rabbi to halt excavation work on the City of David site, which is regarded by archaeologists as an exceptionally important source of clues to the origins of the Jewish people.

Kuwaiti Refinery Blase Is Extinguished

KUWAIT — Firemen Wednesday extinguished an oil tank blaze that had raged for a week and closed one of Kuwait's two main refineries, a government spokesman said.

He said the emergency at the Shuaiba refinery was now over. One person died in the blaze, which started last Thursday and destroyed eight storage tanks.

The government has set up a committee to investigate the cause of the fire at the refinery, which normally produces 200,000 barrels a day. The spokesman gave no estimate of the cost of the damage.

Carter Says Peking's Friendship Pleases Him

PEKING — Former President Jimmy Carter toured the Great Wall of China Wednesday after a lavish banquet the preceding evening at which Chinese leaders saluted him for opening diplomatic relations with the Communist government.

Hailed by Premier Zhao Ziyang as "a statesman well-known to the Chinese people," Mr. Carter said that he had hoped when the normalization process would be irreversible and able to withstand the inevitable shifts of changing political times. "He said his wish had come true."

"Gratifying progress continues in many areas of life and the benefits of the progress are apparent to all," Mr. Carter said. "There is no doubt that the cause of world peace has been advanced by this new Sino-American friendship."

Cameras Jam, but Voyager Gets Good Look at Rings

(Continued from Page 1)

turn's rings showed striking differences in colors of the rings while fully illuminated by the sun. Photographs taken of the rings by Voyager-1 showed little color difference, mostly because Voyager-1 flew under the rings without the sun at its back to illuminate the rings fully.

One picture released Tuesday showed inner rings composed of deep violets, purples and blues, while outer rings were different shades of yellow.

Angola Sees More Action

(Continued from Page 1)

representation of the real state of affairs.

A communiqué from the Angolan Defense Ministry reported "violent fighting." The communiqué, reported by Angop, said two South African armored columns totaling 32 tanks and 82 other vehicles crossed the border between Angola and South-West Africa on Monday morning.

In a report Wednesday, Angop denied reports it had said any of the 20,000 Cuban troops in Angola had massed near Lubango. It said a report by the South African Press Association mentioning the troops and using Angop as its source was "an obvious attempt to mask the South African aggression."

Taipei Families Hear Jet's Tape

TAIPEI — Taiwanese officials today permitted family members to listen to the tape-recorded conversations of the crew of a Taiwanese airliner that crashed last week with 110 persons aboard.

Officials had listened to the tape Sunday, and there was nothing on it to indicate the cause of the accident.

An audience of 270 civil aviation officials, family members and reporters listened to 31 minutes of taped conversation retrieved from the wreckage of the Far Eastern Air Transport Boeing 737 that crashed Saturday in northern Taiwan. The government allowed the unusual public playing of the tape to allay suspicions of a cover-up in the investigation.

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Some California Fruit Is Banned by Japan

By Jay Mathews
Washington Post Service

SANTA BARBARA, Calif. — Japan has announced it will ban all California fruit that has not been disinfected, despite U.S. efforts to soften the ban aimed at the Mediterranean fruit fly.

The Japanese decision, announced Wednesday in Tokyo, is a blow to California growers who count the Asian nation as their No. 1 foreign customer. California sells more than \$120 million in fresh fruit to Japan each year.

Meanwhile, two of five Mediterranean fruit flies found near Los Angeles, 300 miles from the main infestation, were confirmed Wednesday to be fertile, indicating aerial spraying of pesticides over the state's most populous county might be necessary, United Press International reported.

Many Are Unprepared

Anne Warring, a spokesman for the group of California growers known as Sunbelt, said the group had already canceled its next weekly shipment of citrus to Japan. Sunbelt growers have said, however, they are making preparations to fumigate as much of their export crop as they can to meet the Japanese requirement.

California growers in general, however, are not well-prepared for the fumigation or cold-treatment that might be required of more of their produce if the Japanese embargo spreads to other countries

and states. A spokesman for the Council of California Growers said last week that its members were equipped to fumigate only 5 percent of their crop.

U.S. officials have been meeting with the Japanese in Tokyo since Saturday in an attempt to persuade Japan to accept a simple certificate that fruit brought into the country was from parts of California free of the Mediterranean fruit fly. Only 2 percent of the state is under federal and state quarantine resulting from Mediterranean fruit fly infestation.

A spokesman for the Japanese government said the two sides would continue to discuss what kind of disinfectant treatment would be acceptable to Japan and what varieties of fruit not susceptible to the flies might be admitted.

Most other states and foreign governments have been accepting California produce if it was accompanied by a certificate saying that no Mediterranean fruit flies had been found in the counties in which it was picked.

Sen. S.I. Hayakawa, Republican of California, called Tuesday for immediate spraying of the entire San Joaquin Valley, the heart of California's \$16 billion agricultural industry, to stop any further spread of the insect and restore faith in California produce. Up to now, state and federal agricultural officials have ordered aerial spraying with the pesticide Malathion over only those areas where Mediterranean fruit flies have been found.

AWACS Ride Fails to Dent Israelis' Opposition to Sale

By Barry Schweid
The Associated Press

WASHINGTON — A ride on a U.S. radar plane has not caused Israeli representatives to lessen their opposition to the projected sale of five of the aircraft to Saudi Arabia, a spokesman for the Israeli Embassy in Washington says.

"This will not affect our position or our opposition," Nachman Shai said Tuesday after the Pentagon disclosed that Israeli military and technical experts were flown from Tinker Air Force Base in Oklahoma to the vicinity of Langley Air Force Base in Virginia and back to Tinker.

"Israel rejects the whole package and all its elements," Mr. Shai said.

The Reagan administration wants to sell five of the Airborne Warning and Control System — AWACS — planes to Saudi Arabia. The package, which Congress has until Oct. 30 to veto, also includes missiles and fuel tanks for 62 U.S.-built F-15 fighters, giving them the range to reach Israeli territory.

Senate Majority Leader Howard H. Baker of Tennessee threw his support behind the proposal Tuesday and predicted that the Republican-controlled Senate would not block the sale. Although saying he thinks the House may oppose it, the sale cannot be blocked unless both houses vote to do so.

Sen. Baker told a news conference in Chattanooga, Tenn., that "for my own part, I am satisfied that the proposed sale ... is in the interests of the United States."

Mr. Shai said Israel accepted the U.S. invitation to fly the plane for technical reasons only. The flight was made Monday while the administration was officially notifying Congress it intends to proceed with the \$8.5-billion deal, the largest U.S. arms sale to another nation.

The Israelis also were given a briefing on the radar planes at the Pentagon last Friday. It was hoped that the flight and the briefing might persuade Israel to be less strenuous in its opposition.

"The flight was conducted to acquaint Israeli technical and military experts with the capabilities and limitations of the E-3A air defense surveillance aircraft," the Pentagon said.

Israel and its supporters in Congress have objected to the sale of AWACS to Saudi Arabia on grounds that the aircraft, whose radar can see more than 200 miles, would be able to effectively pinpoint all Israeli aircraft movements and put Israel at a serious military disadvantage in event of a war.

The United States has denied that Israel would be endangered by Saudi possession of AWACS planes.

In Post-Torrijos Panama, Top Officers Take Reins

By Alan Riding
New York Times Service

PANAMA CITY — Less than a month after the death of Gen. Omar Torrijos, Panama's military high command has moved to fill the political vacuum left by the death of the strongman who had ruled the country for 13 years.

Although Anastasio Somo deya was confirmed in his largely administrative role as president, the 10 senior officers of the National Guard, the country's only armed force, have begun to project themselves as the ultimate political authority here.

In recent days, the new commander of the 9,000-member guard, Col. Florencio Flores, a little-known figure until Gen. Torrijos' death in a plane crash July 31, has made several much-publicized trips around the country, but he is believed to have little ambition to dominate the political scene and has been coordinating closely with the nine lieutenant colonels who comprise the guard's general staff.

Significantly, by inviting proponents and critics of a \$3-billion copper development project to argue their case before them last week, the general staff officers assumed responsibility for deciding perhaps the most contentious political issue facing the country.

One result of the guard's assertion of power, in the view of local political analysts, has been a commensurate loss of political ground by Mr. Torrijos, who was named by Gen. Torrijos in 1978. The guard has also paid little heed to the Democratic Revolutionary Party, which is nominally the ruling party.

Without the unifying figure of Gen. Torrijos, many Panamanian political analysts believe that a struggle for power will inevitably ensue in the top ranks of the National Guard.

Malaysia Premier's Book Is Tough on Ethnic Chinese

By Henry Kamm
New York Times Service

KUALA LUMPUR — Deputy Prime Minister Musa Hitam said he expected no criticism when he decided to lift an 11-year-old ban on a controversial book. "In fact," he said jokingly in an interview, "I asked the author for a commission."

The author is the new prime minister, Mahathir bin Muhammad, who wrote "The Malay Dilemma" while he was in the political wilderness in 1970. Mr. Mahathir was expelled from the ruling party, the United Malays National Organization, for criticizing the leadership of Tunku Abdul Rahman, the country's first prime minister, in connection with the bloody riots between Malays and ethnic Chinese in 1969.

Mr. Mahathir, a 55-year-old physician, stated in the book his theories on the delicate balance between the two principal ethnic communities — Malays, with about half of the total population of 13 million, and Chinese, with nearly 40 percent. The book, published in Singapore, was immediately banned here.

"The Malay Dilemma" attributed the gross disparity in economic power and educational standing between the ethnic Chinese, who hold a preponderance of the wealth, and the Malays, who compensate by monopolizing political



HOLE IN WALL — An East Berlin worker watched by border guards repairs a 15-foot rupture in the Berlin Wall caused by a young man from the West who crashed through in his car Tuesday night. The driver, thought to be trying suicide, is in an East Berlin hospital.

Canada Finds Wrongdoing by Mounties, Strips Them of Internal Security Duties

By Henry Giniger
New York Times Service

OTTAWA — The Canadian government has announced that the internal security duties of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police would be given to a separate civilian intelligence agency.

The decision was announced Tuesday, at the same time as the release of a report by a government-appointed commission that, after a four-year investigation, discovered "institutionalized wrongdoing" and a "widespread attitude by the force that it need not be responsible to civilian authority."

The RCMP was founded in 1873 as a western frontier force. It is now the federal police force with responsibilities akin to those of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It also serves as the provincial police in all provinces except Quebec and Ontario, which have their own forces.

The panel of inquiry, known as the Commission of Inquiry Concerning Certain Activities of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, was set up in 1977. Its establishment followed disclosure in a Quebec court of illegal acts carried out by members of the force in connection with the investigation of subversion in the French-speaking province, where separatism has sometimes taken violent forms.

The 1,800 pages of documents made public Tuesday detailed five major fields of violations: surreptitious entries, unauthorized wiretapping, unlawful opening of mail, illegal use of confidential informants provided by citizens to the federal government and a wide range of "dirty tricks" carried out against radical groups suspected of being security threats.

The commission attributed this situation partly to the fact that "there has never been a clear and comprehensive public policy on the purpose, methods and structures of security intelligence in Canada."

But it also said: "The RCMP, through its recruitment, training and management practices, engulfs its members in an 'ethos akin to that found in a monastery or religious order.' It found 'a willingness on the part of members of the RCMP to deceive those outside the force who have some sort of constitutional authority or jurisdiction over their activities.'"

The commission described as "misguided notions" what it said was the widely held belief within the force that if a Cabinet minister

was not fully informed of questionable activity he could then deny knowledge if asked about it, and that disclosure of such activity "would inflict damage to the good reputation of the force."

About 3 percent of the report, according to Solicitor General Robert Kaplan, was withheld by the government because it referred to specific cases of wrongdoing that might result in prosecutions.

During some of the day there is time for banter and coffee around the consoles. But the morning and evening rush hours at major airports force the half-dozen or so flow controllers to tighten their pace, concentrating on the most critical flights and rerouting caused by the strike.

Another high-level change that has many observers still baffled was the sudden retirement earlier this summer of Gen. Ro Tae Woo, a long-time friend of the president and a key figure in the Dec. 12, 1979, incident that gave Mr. Chun and his cohorts control of the army.

EEC Backs France, Tells Italy to Refile Wine Papers

From Agency Dispatches

BRUSSELS — The Commission of the European Economic Community has agreed that the French government has the right to bar Italian wine from entering France, but only until Italy has filed proper customs papers, an EEC spokeswoman said Wednesday.

Once Italy files those papers and France agrees to end its blockade on Italian wine imports, the EEC can proceed with its plans to offer financial assistance to France to clear the Italian wine through customs and place it in private warehouses, the spokeswoman added.

She said that on some customs papers, Italian exporters had not even mentioned the origin of their wine.

EEC governments also agreed Wednesday to convert 900 million liters (198 million gallons) of surplus wine into industrial alcohol, at a cost of about \$160 million, to help end the so-called "wine war" between France and Italy, EEC sources said.

A meeting of the EEC Wine Management Committee also began examining reforms that could be made in the community's wine trade, in preparation for a full debate on the later this year.

W. German Tourists Get Health Warning

The Associated Press

HANNOVER, West Germany — West German authorities distributed leaflets to vacationers returning from Romania Wednesday, cautioning them to see their doctor should they feel sick.

The action was taken after tourists returning from the Romanian Black Sea resort of Neptun reported that over 1,000 West German vacationers there had diarrhea.

Chun's Dismissal of Generals Seen as 'Housecleaning'

By William Chapman
Washington Post Service

SEOUL — The departure from powerful positions of three prominent generals has aroused speculation that President Chun Doo Hwan is engaged in a political housecleaning to consolidate his rule in South Korea.

All three had been close friends and advisers of Mr. Chun when he began taking power here in December, 1979, and all occupied posts in his government that have been regarded traditionally as crucial in any power struggle in South Korea.

Government officials deny that the three cases are connected. Only one of the generals has been dismissed with the sort of public disgrace that accompanied the purges of the military that followed Mr. Chun's ascension to the presidency.

But to many observers, both foreign and Korean, the changes appear to fit a pattern of potential rivals being displaced at a time when Mr. Chun's prestige and power are largely unquestioned in public.

Cypriot Will Meet Reagan

Reuters

NICOSIA — President Spyros Kyprianou of Cyprus will meet President Reagan in Washington, possibly at the end of September, a government spokesman said Wednesday.

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Gen. William Dean, U.S. War Hero, Dies

Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Maj. Gen. William F. Dean, 82, a combat veteran of World War II who spent more than three years as a prisoner of North Korea during the Korean War and whose decorations included the Medal of Honor, the nation's highest award for bravery, died Monday in a hospital in Berkeley, Calif.

Gen. Dean commanded the 24th Infantry Division in Tokyo in June, 1950, when North Korean forces crossed the 38th parallel, beginning the war. Gen. Dean's division was among the first forces to reinforce units in South Korea. On July 3, 1950, he was named commander of all U.S. forces in Korea.

On July 20, he personally was leading his troops in a delaying action near the town of Taegon, when he became separated from his men. He was listed as missing in action, and it was not until December, 1951, that it was announced he was a prisoner. He was repatriated in September, 1953.

In "General Dean's Story," published in 1954, he wrote of his years as a prisoner, of his efforts to escape, of his attempts at suicide because of torture and of his fight against brainwashing. He also told how he fought his last battle in Korea, for which he won the Medal of Honor, firing his pistol at a tank.

Room 626 Becomes Nerve Center For Coordinating U.S. Air Traffic

By John Burgess
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Every evening a computer operator seated in a carpeted, sixth-floor room at Federal Aviation Administration headquarters types out a message advising what to expect at the nation's airports and along its air routes on the following day.

The message for Tuesday, flashed to airlines and traffic control centers around the country, began: "The FAA will continue to operate the air traffic system under the 50 Plan on Tuesday, August 25, 1981, for 22 major airports with the following exceptions ..."

For more than three weeks, since the nation's air controllers walked off the job, the emergency measures to keep planes flying have been coordinated from Room 626, the operational command post known as Central Flow.

Equipped with illuminated maps, telephones and high-speed printers, the center was set up 10 years ago to coordinate traffic into congested airports. In the mid-1970s, conserving fuel by reducing time spent in holding patterns became an important function. Now, in addition to those normal duties, Room 626 is the nerve center for minute-to-minute decisions on flight delays and reroutings caused by the strike.

There are loopholes in the 50 Plan, meaning traffic is higher than that in some cases. Flights using only secondary airports are not restricted at all. All told, the restrictions have allowed about 75 percent of the normal day's 14,000 commercial flights to continue operating, according to the FAA.

While scheduling for specific flights is handled in Jacksonville, Washington's complementary task is to accommodate the planes into a system whose capacity changes daily, as airport towers and the 20 regional "en route" control centers around the country seek ways to make their small strike-reduced staffs the most effective.

For example, on Friday last week, landings at JFK International in New York were restricted far below scheduled rates to 25 per hour, due to staffing problems in the control tower. Drawing on computers in Jacksonville, Central Flow called up a schedule of arrivals at JFK and calculated what airborne delays could be expected during specific hours at the airport if nothing was done.

Planes scheduled to land between 4:30 p.m. and 8 p.m. would have to circle for 60 minutes if they took off an schedule, it was found. In response the center ordered airlines and control centers to hold those planes at their departure gates for 60 minutes so that they would be able to land immediately on reaching JFK's vicinity.

Another high-level change that has many observers still baffled was the sudden retirement earlier this summer of Gen. Ro Tae Woo, a long-time friend of the president and a key figure in the Dec. 12, 1979, incident that gave Mr. Chun and his cohorts control of the army.

Another high-level change that has many observers still baffled was the sudden retirement earlier this summer of Gen. Ro Tae Woo, a long-time friend of the president and a key figure in the Dec. 12, 1979, incident that gave Mr. Chun and his cohorts control of the army.

Baggage Limits Cut

WASHINGTON (UPI) — In addition to fewer flights, some air travelers may face surcharges for hauling along a lot of baggage.

The Civil Aeronautics Board recently gave Braniff International permission to cut its baggage limits on flights to and from Latin America from two 70-pound suitcases for free to two 50-pound suitcases.

Pan American Airlines has received permission to begin excess baggage surcharges Oct. 1 for passengers with discount tickets. Pan Am will limit discount ticket luggage to a single piece weighing no more than 50 pounds. The charge for the extra bag would be \$7 on a domestic flight and \$49 on a flight from New York to London.

Layoffs at Western Airlines

LOS ANGELES (AP) — In the latest layoffs for the airline industry, Western Airlines says it will furlough 1,000 employees — about 10 percent of its workers — in the next two weeks because of the air traffic controllers' strike. National Airlines have laid off about 10,000 workers because of the strike.

Loopholes in Plan

Preparation for the 50 Plan for managing traffic during the strike began long before the walkout on Aug. 3. Airlines were asked to submit schedules canceling 50 percent of their flights leaving at peak hours from the country's larger airports. FAA planners in Jacksonville, Fla., modified those submissions as necessary to fit the nation-

Restrictions Canceled

As it happened, at 4:20 p.m. the center decided to cancel the restrictions after New York complained that, combined with other control measures, too few planes were coming into JFK. In Room 626, a flow controller picked up his phone, punched keys on his console to connect him simultaneously to all of the 20 regional traffic centers and announced the cancellation. Written confirmation followed on teletypewriters to the centers and the airlines.

But, in fact, the towers rarely cancel delays. Most have sufficient staff to handle reduced traffic arriving under the 50 Plan, the FAA

Tamperproof Scales

After describing Malays as "prepared to forgive and tolerate the non-Malay on every occasion" because of their "good breeding," he continued:

"The Chinese and Indians, coming from countries with vast populations, are less concerned about good behavior and manners. In their lives, nobility, which is always associated with breeding, was totally absent. Age and riches are the only things they defer to."

Malaysia Premier's Book Is Tough on Ethnic Chinese

Calling for reforms such as the mandatory use of tamperproof scales, the future prime minister wrote of scales that can be used to short-change customers: "The small-time Chinese retailer is adept at this practice and unscrupulous enough to use it as a weapon in competition."

In other passages, he spoke of the "unlimited acquisitiveness" that immigrant communities brought to Malaysia and said: "The Malays are the rightful owners of Malaysia, and ... if citizenship is conferred on races other than the Malays, it is because the Malays consent to it."

The book abounds in racial generalizations, even about groups not resident in Malaysia. Mr. Mahathir wrote, for example, that "Jewish stinginess and financial wizardry gained them the commercial control of Europe and provoked an anti-Semitism which waxed and waned in Europe through the ages."

Gen. Maxwell Taylor greets Gen. William Dean on his release in 1953 after three years as a North Korean prisoner of war.

United Press International



Gen. Maxwell Taylor greets Gen. William Dean on his release in 1953 after three years as a North Korean prisoner of war.

Frank Brickman

MIAMI (AP) — Frank Brickman, 81, Miami Beach's kosher food enforcement officer, died Tuesday. A former New York grocer, Mr. Brickman was America's only municipal keeper of Jewish dietary laws.

Lorena Carver

ATLANTIC CITY, N.J. (AP) — Lorena Carver, 95, who owned and trained the famous driving horses on Atlantic City's Steel Pier for more than 36 years, died Thursday.

Infantryman's Badge

After returning he served as deputy commander of the 6th Army, San Francisco. At his retirement ceremony, the Army chief of staff, Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, pinned the Combat Infantryman's Badge on his blouse and hailed him as "one of America's great heroes."

Gen. Dean's many decorations also included the Distinguished Service Cross, the Legion of Merit, the Distinguished Service Medal, and the Bronze Star.

Gen. Dean was a native of Illinois.

He graduated from the University of California at Berkeley, working his way through college as a Berkeley police officer, streetcar motorman, stevedore, and short-order cook.

He received his commission in the Regular Army in 1923 and made his mark as a staff officer and something of a scholar before World War II. He was a graduate of the Command and General Staff School, Army Industrial College, the Army War College, and his Chemical Warfare School.

He was an assistant to the secretary of the Army's general staff when World War II began. He won a combat assignment in 1944 as assistant commander of the 44th Infantry Division, later becoming its commander. The division was an element of the U.S. 7th Army, serving from the beaches of southern France to Germany and finally Austria.

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Turkey: A Year After Coup

Turkey is approaching the first anniversary of the coup that overthrew Premier Suleyman Demirel. The takeover was meant to put an end to political murder and economic chaos. Unlike most coups, it was greeted with cautious optimism. Turkey, after all, was no banana republic ruled by a succession of tinhorn dictators. On the two previous occasions that the military had taken over since World War II, in 1960 and 1971, the generals quickly returned the country to civilian rule. When Gen. Kenan Evren ousted Mr. Demirel last September, Turkey was clearly descending into the abyss, so he was welcomed in some quarters as a savior. His declared intention of wiping out terrorism, rejuvenating the economy and reforming the political system were desperate necessities that the civilian government obviously could not accomplish.

In some ways, the performance has been astonishingly successful. Political killings have dropped from more than 150 a month to fewer than 40. The inflation rate has gone from 120 percent to less than 40 percent. Exports are expected to be up by 50 percent this year.

In recognition of the economic improvement, Western and Arab bankers are making new loans to the Turks. The Evren government has also improved relations a bit with Turkey's NATO partner, Greece, and it has persuaded Turkish Cypriots to edge toward settlement of intercommunal problems with their Greek neighbors.

The internal political situation, however, is considerably dimmer. Gen. Evren has

cracked down on politicians of the left and the right with equal vigor. He has simply excluded from the political process those of the center such as Mr. Demirel and Bulent Ecevit. A constituent assembly is due to convene in October, but its members will be appointed and their function will only be advisory. Trade-union activity has been virtually suspended. Incidents of torture have been reported. The judiciary is under tight government control and leaders of the left-wing Disk labor federation are facing death penalties as is Alpaslan Turkes, leader of the right-wing Nationalist Action Party.

The latest disturbing development was the announcement that Metin Munir, a Cypriot journalist who represents The Financial Times, the Turkish service of the British Broadcasting Corp. and other Western media organizations, will be tried next month on unspecified charges. The summons left blank the space in which charges normally appear. It is believed that Mr. Munir will be prosecuted for broadcasting a report about a letter alleging that a Turkish group was conspiring to take revenge against Armenians who have been killing Turkish diplomats.

By improving the economy and going a long way toward restoring order, Gen. Evren has won the support of his NATO allies. But if his regime continues to run roughshod over democratic processes and civil liberties — which is bad in itself — frictions are bound to appear, and that will be bad for both NATO and Turkey.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE

The Mexican Oil Deal

The Reagan administration's oil deal with Mexico is a mistake. Under this agreement, the U.S. government is to buy oil for its strategic reserve directly from the Mexican government. The United States is apparently abandoning its previous salutary policy against direct government-to-government oil trading. Why? So far, there's no clear explanation.

In the past, the U.S. government has bought a lot of foreign oil, but always through intermediaries — the international oil companies. The oil companies have provided a valuable buffer against the political and diplomatic interests that crowd in on any transaction between two governments. Unlike the U.S. government, Exxon, Texaco and the rest don't have an immigration policy to enforce along the Rio Grande. They aren't involved in disputes over water rights. They aren't responsible for drug enforcement programs. They don't have to arbitrate quarrels over imported Mexican tomatoes that compete with the Florida crop. The oil companies have nothing to offer for oil but mere money, and money is all that they ever pay.

It's never that simple when governments trade with each other. Between two immediate neighbors like the United States and Mexico there are always dozens of issues under discussion, and the treatment of one inevitably affects the outcome of others. If an

oil company thinks that a seller's price is too high, it can simply walk away from the offer. But the United States couldn't break off its purchases from Mexico without creating a political incident of some magnitude. It's not very likely that this oil will be bought at a strictly market price — particularly if prices begin to move. In a falling market, the U.S. government — unlike the oil companies — would have to show a measure of concern for the economic stability of its neighbor. This agreement is a strange choice for an administration that keeps talking earnestly about the necessity to hold future spending to a minimum.

If there should be another oil crisis like the last two, with prices shooting upward, the sellers of oil would once again have great leverage. This administration's energy policy, here as in other cases, seems to be based mainly on the cheery hope that there won't be any more oil crises and shortages.

The amounts of oil in this agreement are not very large, by the standards of the oil business. After the turn of the year, the volume will fall to about 1 percent of U.S. imports. The gains, in terms of the strategic reserve, will be only modest. But the political implications are large, and the precedent is an unwise one.

THE WASHINGTON POST

Gloom on Wall Street

Researchers at the University of Michigan claim the nation's consumers are happier with the government's economic policy than they have been for a decade. But tell that to President Reagan's other constituency, Wall Street's big league money managers, investment bankers, and brokers. They are in deep gloom.

Main Street may continue to cheer lower tax rates and slower growth in social spending, believing that these policies will produce buoyant economic growth and subdue inflation. But Wall Street does not share that faith, nor, surprisingly, is it responding enthusiastically to the investment incentives in Mr. Reagan's economic package. Instead, the financial community has reacted with distress to dismal forecasts about next year's federal deficit, which further puncture hopes that interest rates will come down anytime soon.

The recent deficit forecasts still the bond and stock markets into yet another tailspin and drove high interest rates even higher. Tuesday, long-term Treasury bills, the safest of safe investments, offered astronomical yields of 14.55 percent. Bell System bonds, also extremely safe, approached 17 percent.

With money market funds continuing to offer similarly high rewards to investors at virtually no risk, the stock market took a beating and the popular Dow Jones industrial average dropped to the lowest level in over a year.

On top of all that, the Labor Department announced that the volatile Consumer Price Index jumped ahead in July at a 15.2 percent annual rate. The administration called the swing an aberration and speeded up studies

of how to replace the C.P.I. with an index less vulnerable to monthly swings in housing costs. Nevertheless, it was the first double-digit figure in six months.

None of this bodes well for Mr. Reagan. The impressive political capital he has raised with his economic victories in Congress may trickle away if such disruptions in the financial markets continue. It appears that balancing the budget by 1984 may require a great deal more budget cutting than even the administration contemplates, almost certainly undermining the massive buildup of defense outlays that the president wants. It may ultimately require some form of tax increase to limit consumer spending, however unimaginable that may seem in the wake of Mr. Reagan's drive to reduce income tax rates.

In early 1980, John Anderson, then still a Republican candidate for president, said there was only one way that President Reagan could make good on his pledge to cut taxes, raise defense spending, balance the budget and bring inflation under control — and that was with mirrors.

Even people on Wall Street otherwise disposed to support Mr. Reagan look at his economic program and see only a fragile and untested theory of monetary management — a plan to cut more billions from the budget than most people can imagine, and a lot of hope. The forthcoming debate about defense spending will carry these doubts into the halls of Congress. To succeed in that confrontation the president will have to offer more than mirrors.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

In the International Edition

Seventy-Five Years Ago

August 27, 1906

WASHINGTON — The entire country is showing intense interest in the political situation in New York State. William R. Hearst expects to be nominated by his Independence League on Sept. 11; then he is going to ask the Democratic convention to take him on or he will defeat its ticket. He counts on getting New York and Erie Counties and most of the rural counties. Mr. Hearst began by building up a machine of his own with which to coerce the Democrats. He has invaded every county and has been actively at work for him, many on pay. It has been estimated that by the time all the bills for his preliminary canvass have been paid his expenditure would reach nearly \$1 million.

Fifty Years Ago

August 27, 1931

NICE — One of the most eccentric of notable literary men, Frank Harris, critic, biographer and former editor, died aged 75 at his home here yesterday. His determination to complete his biography of Bernard Shaw caused him to cling tenaciously to life despite a long illness. "My Life and Loves" brought him his social ostracism both in England and America. Although there have been violent disagreements concerning his place in the literary world, and though his judges were almost unanimous in terming him the most egotistical writer in a century, it is now recognized that he was a man of genius. His "Life and Confessions of Oscar Wilde" is ranked by Shaw as the best in the field.



Dacca: Military Short Circuits

By Tyler Marshall

DACCA, Bangladesh — Since it became independent a decade ago, this hapless nation has been guided more by its army officers than anyone else.

The attempted coup d'etat of last May 30 that took the life of President Ziaur Rahman and left a question mark over the future is only the latest instance of the army short-circuiting the political process.

The country's only other elected leader, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, was gunned down six years ago by a group of dissident majors from the famed Bengal Lancers regiment. In the chaotic hours following Mr. Zia's death in May, the pivotal figure was not the constitutional successor, Vice President Abdus Sattar, but the army chief, Lt. Gen. H.M. Ershad.

"I could have taken over," he said in an interview at his headquarters in Dacca, "but I decided for the constitutional alternative." There was no hint of military bravado in the general's statement. It was a simple assessment of the disproportionate power he held as army chief. It is a degree of power enjoyed by the heads of most Third World armies.

But in the context of Third World politics, there is little unusual about the extent of Gen. Ershad's strength. Most Third World armies have such power.

For, with rare exceptions, those armies represent the only well-organized instruments of authority in otherwise weak and fractious political structures.

They preserve order, symbolize national unity, destroy liberty and provide most of the world's unneeded presidents.

They dominate almost by default. Even junior officers are capable of brushing aside frail constitutional frameworks to seize power.

Marxist politicians in Afghanistan recognized the army as their only way to gain the upper hand and spent years infiltrating it before launching their successful coup more than three years ago. The commander of the tank that led the takeover is now the minister of communications.

When Pakistan's general cum-president, Mohammed Zia ul-Haq, took control in an effort to restore order in Pakistan, he did so reluctantly. He addressed the elected leader he deposed as "sir" and made what most observers believed was a sincere pledge to return the country to civilian rule within 90 days. That was four years ago. He later hanged Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the man he called "sir."

Few rare Pakistan's Gen. Zia as particularly ambitious. Most attribute his longevity to the absence of any credible alternative. Indeed, the army has ruled Pakistan for nearly half its 35 years of inde-

pendence and many view it as the glue that holds the country together.

The path taken by Bangladesh's Gen. Zia during his nearly six years in power demonstrates the pitfalls facing a leader who tries to make the jump from military to civilian rule. As an army major general he emerged as chief martial law administrator following a series of military coups in late 1975.

Initially ruthless, Gen. Zia gradually loosened his grip on the country and was returning it slowly to a semblance of civilian, democratic rule, forming his own political party in the process. But a group of disaffected senior army officers believed Gen. Zia was "overdemocratizing" the system and urged him to reimpose martial law and strict press censorship.

More than a dozen attempts to bring him down were organized within the army before the final, fatal one led by an unhappy major general in May.

Gen. Ershad, who speaks with quiet sincerity and devotion to his country, said that he was determined to keep the army out of the political arena.

"Democracy should be given a chance to survive," Gen. Ershad said. "I am not going to be involved in running this country — not me, not my army."

He voiced the hope that his refusal to take control might make it more difficult for anyone else to try.

"I wanted to prove it's not inevitable that the army takes over," he said. "Once people know there are alternatives it will be harder for the army next time."

But if violence erupts in the coming campaign to elect a successor to the slain president and law and order begin to crumble, he may have no choice.

"In the current political vacuum, there is tremendous pressure on the military to keep order," said a leading Dacca businessman with close ties to the army.

Even Gen. Ershad admits that the army is "the only disciplined force in the country."

But this discipline is far from total. To ensure the continuation of Bangladesh's fragile civilian rule, the army chief will surely have to head off further violent bids for power by ambitious, dissatisfied military officers.

Most of this dissatisfaction is rooted in a rift between officers who fought in the struggle for independence from Pakistan and those who were trapped and interned in what was then West Pakistan.

Most of the so-called freedom fighters were ill-trained volunteers who were later absorbed into the army and given two years' added seniority, a move that upset their better-trained and often better-qualified repatriated colleagues.

As in so many Third World countries, what affects the armed forces eventually spills over into the broader political process. Differences with the president over the treatment of freedom fighters was one of the grievances voiced by the officers who killed him.

As a precautionary measure, Mr. Sattar, now acting president, has already retired some senior officers whose loyalty was found to be suspect.

Gen. Ershad has personally visited key garrisons, emphasizing to senior officers the need for maintaining strict discipline.

"We told them that if this kind of thing happens again, it could destroy the country," he said.

Tyler Marshall is the Los Angeles Times correspondent in New Delhi. ©1981, Los Angeles Times.

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Debate on Energy: Try a Little Prayer

by Richard N. Cooper

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — In an extraordinary document recently submitted to Congress, the Department of Energy explains how we should deal with the next oil emergency. It says a shortfall of oil should be met by running an economic recession deep enough and long enough to bring our demand for oil into line with the available supply.

You will not find those exact words in the report, of course, but that is its message. What the report literally says is that, in the event of a disruption in oil supplies, the market should be allowed to do the job it does best — allocating scarce resources efficiently and effectively among competing demands. No action should have a more salutary effect on [our] preparedness and endurance capability... than to guarantee that domestic price controls and allocation of oil for civilian purposes will never again be imposed, and "... oil supply disruptions must be greeted with a firm and nonaccommodative monetary response."

Prices to Rise

In short, oil prices are to rise until the market clears. That will solve the problem. High priority users are defined as those who will pay for it; low priority users will drop out of the market voluntarily. The price mechanism does not need to be supplemented by other measures. The only mitigation is a willingness to sell some of the Strategic Petroleum Reserve in the event of a disruption. As an economist, I have more respect for the market than most. But doctrinaire reverence for the free market in any circumstance, even an emergency, seems to me foolhardy. The key question is not whether supply and demand will be brought into balance — they always are — but how that will be accomplished, and at what cost.

The administration apparently would rely exclusively on price, apart from some stock drawdown. It is important to get oil prices right, and the January decontrol of oil prices should be applauded as providing the right long-run incentives to producers and consumers. But in the short run of an emergency, demand is very insensitive to price alone. Quick substitutes for oil are not available. Consumers will pay more for oil and less for other things. The balance between supply and demand will be brought about by a fall in business profits (except for energy firms), employment and incomes — a recession.

The Debate

For a large disturbance, this policy holds out an even starker possibility of the recession of 1974-75, in which the United States alone lost an estimated \$250 billion in output in today's prices. The Western world as a whole lost perhaps twice as much. Unemployment

went to 9 percent, and ten-year employment reached 21 percent. Most of the debate on energy control has concerned its political aspects — who gains and who loses, and the merits of that debate has deflected attention from the more important economic effects. Sharply oil prices combined with money could make virtually as much as a few owners of crude oil could make by selling it at the inevitable disruption of supply. It would be foolish to say, temporary gasoline rationing with price controls to reduce demand for oil without large price increases at the pump if that would protect us from a major recession. We should not commit ourselves prior to controls either. The unquestionably inefficient and disastrously inequitable. We should look at the total cost-benefit of alternative measures, and the partial costs. In many agencies, price controls are not only far less effective and costly than a depression.

A sufficient drawdown of stocks could avoid both price and recession; it is obviously preferred course, if we have and if we are willing to let go. But it is discouraging to find that during the disruption of oil, private firms greatly built up stocks, and then Secretary of Energy James Schlesinger was criticized for ceasing production of the Strategic Petroleum Reserve to ease pressure on the oil market. We badly need to work out our energy policy under which SPR sales will be made.

Interest Rates

Furthermore, private firms drawing down their (still) stocks now, when normally they would be building them up, can blame them? They might high interest rates and face a flood of prospective oil supplies the next year or two. They might be expected to take into account the overall national interest, including U.S. national security, and the desirability of avoiding a recession in the event of another disruption. That is the responsibility of the government. It should limit itself to the national interest — about 450,000 barrels a day — in buying stocks, but not purchase at a much higher rate than above ground until they can be moved.

In the meantime, given the administration's declared program for dealing with an oil emergency, we should all pray for quietude in the world's leading oil producer.

The writer, a professor of economics at Harvard, was undersecretary of state for economic affairs under the Carter administration. This article for The Post.

Polish Stage Ready for Rerun

By Leopold Unger

BRUSSELS — One year after the great drama of Gdansk, the stage is set again with the same actors prepared for another run of the same play.

Lech Walesa displayed the same sense of responsibility as before when from the same Lenin shipyards in Gdansk he urged the workers once again to struggle for what they wanted, but to demand only what was possible. Just as the late Cardinal Wyszyński did last August, his successor as primate of the Poles, Archbishop Jozef Glemp, took a stand for the Catholic Church in the holy city of Czestochowa for renewed meditation and pronounced a sermon to the glory of the Black Virgin and for moderation. Just as they did a year ago, the Communist Party and the government have adapted a firm policy, with the accompanying threats of force, allusions to "bloody encounters" and to the danger of "fraternal assistance."

And just as he did a year ago, the top man of the Polish Communist Party has returned to the same dacha in the Crimea to hear Leopold Brezhnev describe the Soviet point of view on the Polish crisis.

Yet there are some changes in the replay of history. The first is that it was not Edward Gierka but Stanislaw Kania who went to the Kremlin, leaving behind an almost entirely new party directorate. Furthermore, Mr. Kania went to the Crimea with his premier, Wojciech Jaruzelski, who is a general and minister of defense, an indication of the role that the army is playing or may play in Poland.

Yet the more extraordinary factor coming out of the Crimea visit was the communiqué published afterward. Rather than the usual banal, almost ritual formulae, the Soviet-Polish communiqué this time contained what could be considered a political and economic program.

The communiqué declared a five-year moratorium for the Polish debt to the Soviet Union (according to unofficial Polish sources, the debt amounted to \$4.5 billion for the last year alone). It also

promised that the Soviet Union would deliver "a number of products of current consumption" to Poland, even though the Kremba is unable to overcome its own shortages and serious economic problems.

Obviously, however, Moscow believes that the sacrifice is worth the while. It believes that it must offer some compensation to the Polish leaders for their efforts against "the enemies of socialism in Poland..." the counter-revolutionaries who use anti-Sovietism to create a gap between Poland, the Soviet Union and its other faithful friends and allies, and who threaten the "security of the state and the vital interests of the Polish nation."

The Soviet Union, Mr. Brezhnev declared, "has an internationalist position towards Poland." This was a very direct reference to what has become known as the Brezhnev doctrine, formulated before the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, by which Moscow allots itself the right to intervene in the domestic affairs of Communist states.

Furthermore, the communiqué also recalls the wording of the final declaration signed by Mr. Brezhnev and Czech Party leader Alexander Dubcek at the end of their meeting in the last days of July, 1968, some three weeks before the Soviet-led Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia.

There is, however, a major difference between the Polish Crimean visit of 1980 and the one this year. It is not only the party leaders who changed between visits. Poland also has changed. And under the current distribution of forces in Poland, it may well be asked to what extent Mr. Kania has the right and ability to speak and take a stand in the name of the Polish nation.

When Mr. Kania left the Crimea, he returned to his "legal country," the one he represented at the conference with Mr. Brezhnev, but that country is also the "real Poland," that of 37 million Poles, of the independent union Solidar-

ity, still the only free union in the Communist bloc, which along with Rural Solidarity assemblies periodically all the Polish working people, and this makes it, in proportion to the population, the biggest union in the world.

And, according to a leader of Solidarity in Gdansk, the union did not sign the communiqué after the Crimean meeting and does not feel bound by Mr. Kania's promises to Mr. Brezhnev, or rather by the Polish Communist leader's lack of allegiance to Mr. Brezhnev.

"That is their problem," the union leader said, "even if certain terms in the communiqué are contrary to the spirit and the letter of the Gdansk accords, and if, in such cases, those that lay the blame for the present catastrophe on Solidarity are simply an insult in the good sense of the Polish nation."

Solidarity does not doubt Mr. Kania's right to make pronouncements in the name of his party. And, moreover, the union would welcome any positive results coming out of the Crimean meeting, particularly since within the last year Solidarity has aggravated the situation by waging a campaign through a series of strikes and sit-ins against the independent union, instead of trying to save the union after 35 years of incompetent management.

"We do not deny the party's right to its role under the constitution," the Solidarity leader said recently in an interview. "However, neither threats of the type used in Czechoslovakia in 1968, nor the pressure made during the Crimean meeting, can diminish the role of our organization as set out in the '21 Points' signed in Gdansk last year. The Baltic Sea is closed to us than the Black Sea, even if it is Red."

"Let me remind you," the union leader said, in explaining his call for moderation, "I am a Pole first and a union leader second."

"What we are waiting for is Mr. Kania can also be a Pole first, that is, before being a Communist."

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Guatemala: How Far Will U.S. Go to Back Rightist Regimes?

Marlise Simons, a Mexico City-based journalist who reports on Latin American affairs for The Washington Post and other publications, wrote this article for the magazine Foreign Policy.

By Marlise Simons

MEXICO CITY — The real test of the Reagan administration's Central American policy will come in Guatemala, not El Salvador. The reason is simple: In El Salvador the administration has been able to disguise its anti-Communism by pointing to the ruling junta's commitment to democracy and social reform.

In Guatemala, terror is institutionalized. The highest death squads responsible for more than 3,000 murders last year are directed from the office of President Romeo Lucas Garcia himself, according to Amnesty International. The repression has ignited a civil war, and there is little pretense that any political middle ground exists.

The notion, developed by U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Jeane Kirkpatrick, that "moderately repressive" allies deserve U.S. support, faces a severe test in Guatemala. How far is Washington willing to back a military dictatorship that adamantly opposes reform and is committed, in the name of "fighting Communism," to a policy of political assassination?

The Reagan administration indicated in May that it was inclined to provide military aid to Guatemala. But even months after Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. declared Guatemala the next nation after El Salvador on the "hit list" of Soviet expansionism, the administration still had no coherent Guatemalan policy.

In many ways Guatemala is more important than El Salvador or any other Central American nation. With 6.9 million people, it has the largest population and economy in the region; it borders on four countries, including Mexico and its vital oil fields. Direct U.S. investment of \$221 million — double the amount in El Salvador — is the highest in the region. In the past 25 years, the United States has played a far more important role in Guatemala than anywhere else in Central America.

Whereas the Reagan administration cites outside agitation as the chief cause of the Salvadoran conflict, such claims will be far more difficult to support in Guatemala. When analyzing the Guatemalan civil war, the history of U.S. policy and of indigenous reform movements is impossible to discount.

The most important U.S. interference in Guatemalan politics occurred in 1954, when the Central Intelligence Agency engineered the overthrow of Guatemala's reform-minded president, Col. Jacobo Arbenz. A former defense minister, Col. Arbenz had taken office peacefully and punctually, the first president to do so in more than a century. His labor and land reforms were "tepid by the standards of what the United States recommended" in El Salvador last year.

However, when Col. Arbenz began legal proceedings to expropriate 178,000 acres owned by United Fruit Co., offering to pay the company's own book value of the land as compensation, the company skillfully converted a business dispute into an ideological conflict. The U.S. government and media presented Col. Arbenz's reforms not as populist attempts to move Guatemala from feudalism to modern capitalism, but as incipient Communism.

\$10-Million Coup

The coup, which cost the United States less than \$10 million, marked the return of the Big Stick policy toward Latin America that Franklin D. Roosevelt had abandoned 20 years earlier. It also became a model for U.S. response to revolutionary change in Latin America. The language, arguments and techniques of the Arbenz episode were used in Cuba in the early 1960s, in Brazil in 1964, in the Dominican Republic in 1965 and in Chile in 1973.

In Guatemala itself, the coup cut short the beginning of a natural process of modernization. Since 1954, the U.S. government and Guatemala's ultraconservative landed gentry and its military allies have time and time again spurned opportunities for peaceful change.

No sooner had Col. Arbenz been overthrown than his CIA-picked successor, Carlos Castillo Armas, dismantled the budding labor movement, the literacy campaign, the peasant cooperatives and revoked all land reform measures. This aggravated the overcrowding of the several million Indians living on tiny plots on the highland plateaus. Anti-Communism became the ruling norm, and it still is today.

As Guatemala prepares for elections in March of next year, revolution is brewing once more. Almost every day there are guerrilla actions: an ambush of an army convoy, an attack on a police station or a takeover of a village to hold political meetings and kill army informants. As in the 1960s, rightist death lists are circulating and mysteriously named murder squads have reappeared.

Wiped out completely a decade ago, the leftist guerrillas have been able to return because of three factors: the radicalization of the Roman Catholic Church, the ability of the guerrillas to mobilize the Indians for the first time and the inevitable demonstration effect of events elsewhere in Central America.

Indian Culture

In contrast to the defeated guerrillas of the 1960s, the Guatemalan leftists in the 1970s decided no revolution would be possible without the participation of the country's Indians, who make up 53 percent of the population. Descendants of the Mayans, the Indians have protected one of the oldest and most coherent cultures in the Americas by rejecting the values of the society imposed by the Spanish conquest. Their tight social organization also protects them against Guatemala's pervasive racism.

Divided into 18 language groups, the Indians follow a conservative, contemplative and deeply religious way of life. Despite years of political pressure, they had always remained aloof from right and left.

Undismayed by the challenge, young members of the Guerrilla Army of the Poor (GAP) moved into the El Quiché area in 1975, learning Indian languages, gave the people legal and marketing advice, became involved in cooperatives and slowly gained their confidence. Catholic priests, many of them foreigners, served effectively as a bridge between the guerrillas and the Indian population by raising the Indians' consciousness and eventually endorsing — thereby legitimizing — the revolutionary path.

These efforts found strong popular support. The K'achikil, Kekchi and Quiché peoples have long resented "the army of the whites," which forcibly recruits Indian boys. The Guatemalan military has also made a policy of seizing Indian land on behalf of the powerful, particularly in a new oil, nickel and forestry

development area known as the Transversal Zone.

The army has also kidnapped, tortured and killed local leaders, often entire families, in its hunt for subversives.

In the 1970s, the living conditions of the impoverished Indians worsened. Population growth put more pressure on the short supply of land services and employment. Illiteracy remained at more than 60 percent. Light industry and tourism created a boom in Guatemala City. But every year half a million Indians in the countryside are forced to migrate to the cotton, sugar and coffee plantations along the Pacific coast, where they often work for less than the minimum wage of \$3.20 a day.

Official terror and desperation have pushed many Indians to cooperate with the guerrillas or actually to join their ranks. Of the four armed leftist groups in Guatemala, the EGP and the Organization of People in Arms have the largest Indian following. Although they are kept small for tactical reasons, these groups work on a terrain that the Indians know intimately and the army does not.

If the Indians are a key to possible change in Guatemala, the military is the key to the status quo. The military's strategy for preserving power is to terrify the villagers and to put the guerrillas in a moral bind by punishing innocent civilians for guerrilla actions.

Increasingly, the army feels that it stands alone in the way of revolution. Encouraged by U.S. military support and equipment and dissatisfied with the role of protecting other people's fortunes, the military began to acquire its own wealth in the early 1970s. Modeling themselves after Brazil's powerful military, the officers decided to build economic muscle to increase their independence.

Protection for Sale

The 14,000-man Guatemalan armed forces now own a bank, an investment fund and have launched industrial projects. Top military leaders own vast stretches of land. They earn extra income selling protection to the large landowners. As in El Salvador, much of the high command is U.S. trained. Between 1950 and 1977, according to Pentagon statistics, 3,334 Guatemalan officers attended U.S. military academies.

Three years ago, Guatemala rejected U.S. military aid to protest President Jimmy Carter's human rights criticism. Since then, Guatemala has spent more than \$89 million on military purchases, mainly in Israel and Argentina.

Guatemala had seemed the sort of country where the Carter human rights program might have had some impact. Between 1974 and 1978, fraudulently elected President Kjell Laugerud Garcia proved surprisingly tolerant of the newly emerging trade union and Indian cooperative movements. And there were hopes that his successor, Mr. Lucas, and his Social Democratic civilian running mate, Francisco Villagrán Kramer, would ensure continuation of the *apertura*, or political opening.

Relations, however, between Guatemala and Washington deteriorated sharply within months of the Lucas takeover. Mr. Lucas believed that Washington's policies in Nicaragua and El Salvador were destabilizing the entire region and encouraging the extreme left. As the Sandinistas gained strength in Nicaragua, the army command decided to end the *apertura* and demobilize the opposition.

In its siege mentality, the right began identifying all non-rightists — teachers, union leaders, students, priests, journalists, Christian Democrats and Social Democrats — as Communist threats. Within two years, repression had become so extreme that even Vice-President Villagrán resigned and fled the country.

The United States was snubbed. The Carter administration's human rights representations were ignored. High-ranking State Department envoys to Guatemala were refused audiences with the president, while the local press taunted them as "moderate Marxists."

When Washington decided last year to replace meek Ambassador Frank V. Ortiz Jr. with a more assertive career diplomat, George Landau, it was met with defiance. Guatemala refused to accept Mr. Landau. For the past year, the fortress-like U.S. Embassy in Guatemala City has been without an ambassador.

Although U.S. officials now hope that a political solution can be shaped around the elections, it is difficult to imagine how Guatemala's political direction could change sufficiently in the coming months to make elections more credible. The far left abandoned elections as a political tool after a blatant fraud in 1974 under President Carlos Arana. The left-of-center and centerist groups that have survived the assassination campaign find it impossible to operate publicly. Even the Christian Democrats, whose Salvadoran colleagues are allied with the rightist military there, feel terrorized in Guatemala. Since last summer, 76 party leaders have been murdered, seven of them in one day. The Christian Democrats are threatening to boycott the elections unless the repression eases.

Narrow Escapes

The Reagan administration has quietly started to encourage Christian Democratic leader Vinicio Cerezo to run party candidates next March. Yet Mr. Cerezo himself receives frequent death threats and has narrowly escaped three assassination attempts in recent months. And by early May, Washington had done nothing to help create conditions that would make Christian Democratic participation more than an act of political — and actual — suicide.

With the political center virtually extinct, the elections are very likely to be another squabble for power among the rightists. Besides Mr. Lucas, two men count in the jockeying for the presidency. One is former Vice President Mario Sandoval Alarcón, head of the fiercely rightist National Liberation Movement (MLN), who has already announced his candidacy. The MLN calls itself the "party of organized violence" and claims to maintain a 3,000-man paramilitary force.

Mr. Sandoval's primary rival is Mr. Arana, who cannot become president again, but is expected to offer his own candidate. As tough as

Mr. Sandoval, Mr. Arana earned the nickname "the Jackal" for his fierce repression of the left. Architect of the economic boom of the past decade, he has a strong following among the military and the conservative but more modern business community, which does not like to be identified with the fanaticism of the MLN.

American Visitors

The Guatemalan establishment overestimated how willing the Reagan administration would be to provide support once it took office. Ronald Reagan's omission last summer had encouraged Guatemalan hostility toward the Carter years and gainier treatment of private levels. Ultraconservative Guatemalan groups made early contact with the Reagan camp and persuaded hard-line congressmen, retired U.S. military officers and academics to visit Guatemala City. The visitors, in turn, reassured their Guatemalan hosts that U.S. policies in Central America would be radically different under a Reagan presidency.

The administration is in a bind. Although sympathetic to Guatemala's anti-Communism, Washington cannot afford to ignore its brutal repression. The administration's professed support for reform in El Salvador is likely to be undermined by open support of reaction in Guatemala.

If the administration were to push the military regime to reform, knowledgeable insiders doubt that there is even a faction of progressive officers willing to support reform-minded policies.

Butting on the 1982 elections as an avenue of meaningful change is wishful thinking. To rebuild the political center is nearly impossible at this late stage. Even among moderates, U.S. credibility is low.

The only way that the Reagan administration can avoid repeating the mistakes of the past is to show that it opposes government-sponsored terrorism. Without extracting significant concessions from the current ruling groups in Guatemala, the United States will not obtain the measures essential to long-term stability there.

The administration should not go ahead with plans to resume military assistance. The Guatemalans are burning without U.S. aid. In rejecting military support in 1977, the Guatemalans figured that they could ride out the Carter years and gain friendlier treatment from a Republican administration, without having to curtail their human rights violations. An indefinite military cutoff now could induce the armed forces to revise its reactionary policies.

The Reagan administration has the advantage of being known and trusted in Guatemala. Ruling groups know that they will have nowhere else to turn if they alienate a conservative U.S. administration. Given the choice of facing a hostile United States or instituting genuine reforms, Guatemalan leaders might grudgingly accept the latter.

But the United States should not pretend that it can accomplish anything easily in Guatemala. Creating an atmosphere for reform will be very difficult; real arm-twisting will have to take place.

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Peking Saga: Once a Eunuch to Empress, Now a Retired Clerk in Communist China

By Victoria Graham
The Associated Press

PEKING — Behind an iron door on West Drum Tower Street, two elderly gentlemen tend flowers and goldfish in an elegant courtyard where they have lived in seclusion for 30 years, tragic relics of China's imperial past.

Sun Yaoting and Ma Deqing, both 80, were eunuchs of the Qing Dynasty and lived in the Forbidden City. Today they are wards of the Communist state, living out their days with a certain dignity in the compound of the Bureau for Preservation of Temples and Monasteries.

Only one other eunuch is said to be alive, the third and last vestige of a feudal servant class, famed for lusting only after power and engaged in palace intrigue. In the Ming Dynasty (A.D. 1368-1644), eunuchs were said to number 100,000. When Mr. Sun entered the palace in 1916 there were 1,000. When he left in 1924 there were fewer than 200.

Mr. Sun is the youngest of the trio and says matter of factly, "I was the favorite of the empress. I did my duty well."

In the last days of the Qing Dynasty, young Mr. Sun was a poised, diminutive, relatively rich eunuch. He earned 20 taels of silver a month as the chosen eunuch of the fickle teen-age Empress Wan Rong. Close to her in age, he poured her tea, washed her hands, supported her arm when she walked.

Mr. Ma, however, was large, ungainly and illiterate. He was a coolie, doing the most menial work in the palace, earning a few dollars on festival days and enduring occasional beatings. He had to pay a dollar from his own pocket to have his queue braided. Mr. Ma and Mr. Sun are friends of five decades, bound by the castration they endured to help their families and their status as freaks and outcasts.

Mr. Sun was born near Tianjin, the eldest of three sons in a peasant family which turned to begging. When he was 10, his parents gave thought to him becoming a eunuch.

"I volunteered to help my family," Mr. Sun said, speaking in a soft voice, sometimes on the verge of tears. "Everyone considered eunuchs despicable and loathsome. No man would want to become a eunuch, but it was the only way because we were so miserable."

So many poor peasants wanted their sons to be eunuchs that the waiting list for imperial castration was long. It took six years of waiting and seeking introductions and Mr. Sun had grown to be a young man of 16 when he was accepted.

He entered the Forbidden City "and on that day I became a eunuch," he said. That was in 1916 and he worked there for eight years until the puppet Emperor Pu Yi was driven out by warlord Feng Yu Hsiang.

Every evening at sunset, he recalls, a bell ordered the departure of all males from the Forbidden City except for men of the imperial family and eunuchs.

Eunuchs tied the emperor's shoes, told him stories, transmitted edicts, burned incense, checked the accuracy of clocks, scrubbed the floors, guarded treasures, fed the animals, recited classics. Because of his



Eunuchs Ma Deqing, left, and Sun Yaoting were in the Chinese imperial court.

shrewd assessment of the whims of the empress, Mr. Sun became her favorite and frequent companion. He was the youngest of 12 eunuchs who waited on her.

He remembers she used to make her eunuchs, all youngsters like herself, stand in a circle and play drop the handkerchief. "If she liked you and was in a good mood, she was easy to please. She treated me quite well," Mr. Sun said. "But when she got angry, I stayed out of her way. I watched her moods and handled her with care."

Sometimes the empress invited him to eat with her. He performed three kowtows before accepting food, and he was required in her presence to eat while standing. Sometimes she gave him catfood finery, sometimes 40 or 50 silver dollars. Most of his money went to his family.

Cruel Emperor

He remembers, too, her cruel husband, the teen-age Emperor Pu Yi, who used to ride his bicycle through the marble lanes of the palace. The emperor was famous for abusing his eunuchs, even making them eat dirt, and once he turned on Mr. Sun. "The emperor told me he was going to shoot me dead with a pistol. I was terrified and I made many kowtows and begged him to spare my life. Then he laughed and my friends said he only was joking."

Mr. Sun knows stories about famous, powerful eunuchs, some who amassed great wealth and even had wives and concubines for the sake of appearance. "But those were the old days," he said. "We had no power. The Qing Dynasty had no power."

When the imperial family and eunuchs were expelled from the palace in 1924, Mr. Sun was flung into a world where he had no role. "I was seized by a great sadness," said

Mr. Sun, who was 24 at the time. "Where would we go? Who would want us? What would become of us?"

No one would hire eunuchs, and many became beggars. "We were humiliated in the outside world," he said. "We never knew even which toilet to use — men's or women's."

Pooled Resources

So 30 or 40 eunuchs pooled their money and bought land in the western district of Peking. There they built the Xing Long monastery, with a Taoist caste. They grew some vegetables, collected rent from houses on their land and lived in ledness, seclusion and poverty.

They only could afford flour twice a month and usually lived on corn muffins. In the street people taunted them.

The eunuchs lived in their retreat for about 25 years, until the Communist victory of 1949. The state took over temples and monasteries, and 30 eunuchs became wards of the state. Eunuchs were organized into political study classes and read Marx and the works of Chairman Mao. "We learned we were the most oppressed in the old society," Mr. Sun said. "We were to be given jobs, protected and respected."

The favorite eunuch of the empress thus became a clerk. "After a life of misery," Mr. Sun said, "we at last could lead happy lives." He praises the Communist Party.

He receives an allowance of 50 yuan, about \$37, a month. He eats in a collective dining room. Attendants steady him as he walks with his cane. They place cushions on his chair. Nurses look after him.

Once a year his brother comes to visit. On a table beside his bed, Mr. Sun places pictures of great-nieces he has never seen.

Freud's Reversal of Seduction Theory Probed

This is the second of two articles. The first article was published on Aug. 20.

By Ralph Blumenthal
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Unpublished letters and growing research into the hidden life of Sigmund Freud are providing new insight into a momentous turning point in the history of psychoanalysis — Freud's reversal of his theory attributing neurosis in adults to sexual seduction in childhood.

By that reversal, which shifted the focus of pathology from parent to child, some scholars say Freud turned a blind eye to considerable evidence, not only of seductions but also a wide range of other abuses that victimized and traumatized children in Victorian Europe. The consequences for social reform and psychotherapy have been enormous.

Initially, Freud attributed his patients' neurosis to repressed memories of seductions or other sexual trauma in childhood. But then, he decided, the seductions so frequently reported by his patients could not have occurred and had to be largely "phantasies" conjured up out of an innate infantile sexuality that focused on the parents.

But some scholars, citing criminal statistics of the period and other documentation, contend that the accounts were authentic enough and that Freudian psychoanalysis essentially turned its back on environmental factors — reality — to look inward to psychic reality, "phantasy" and instinctual drives, such as the Oedipus complex, to explain neurosis.

Turnabout

Some of these scholars now believe that Freud, wearying of his isolation, turned his initial theory around, consciously or unconsciously, to absolve the parents, including perhaps his own father, and implicate the children through a theory of infantile sexuality.

This view won some surprising endorsement recently from a prominent Freud archivist, Dr. Jeffrey Moussier Masson, a Berkeley psychoanalyst selected by Anna Freud as director of the project to publish her father's complete letters to his closest confidant, Wilhelm Fliess, and others for the first time.

By "shifting the emphasis from a real world of sadness, misery and cruelty, to an internal stage on which actors performed invented dramas for an invisible audience of their own creation," Dr. Masson told a meeting of the Western New England Psychoanalytic Society at Yale in June, "Freud began a trend away from the real world that, it seems to me, has come to a dead halt in the present-day sterility of psychoanalysis throughout the world."

Nevertheless, Dr. Masson and most other Freud scholars consider the Viennese master an undeniably heroic figure who by the power of his intellect and great gifts of expression first charted the forbidding terrain of the human unconscious.

The expanding re-analysis of Freud and the seduction theory, nearly a century after the Freudian revolution opened the mind to systematic study and treatment, is being spurred by a wealth of new research and emerging autobiographical material.

"While he was alive, a lot of people knew he didn't want his life exposed," said Dr. Muriel Gardiner, a Vienna-trained psychoanalyst of the 1920s. Dr. Gardiner, a Freud follower and

philanthropist, has helped assemble valuable Freud archives. For a long time after Freud's death at the age of 83 in London in 1939, Dr. Gardiner added, "most people, taunted people, were reticent about getting into everything." But recently, she acknowledged, Freud scholarship has turned increasingly penetrating.

Most significant, scholars say, is the decision of Miss Freud, who is now 85 and living in London, to accede to appeals for the complete opening of her father's most intriguing correspondence — his 284 known letters to Fliess, a quixotic Berlin nose and throat specialist who entranced Freud with his unorthodox theories of bisexuality and biorythms and became his passionate friend for 15 years before their bitter breakup after 1902. According to new accounts, Fliess had a paranoid fear that Freud was plotting to kill him. The letters have hitherto been available only in an expurgated form, published by Basic Books as "The Origins of Psychoanalysis," but omitting sections or whole letters that the Freud family considered too personal, unpleasant or irrelevant.

Publication Planned

Harvard University Press plans to publish the full collection in about two years, as well as other released Freud correspondence with colleagues and friends and perhaps his wife-to-be as it becomes available. "It's an act of extreme importance; Harvard has agreed to be the publisher for the next 30 years," said Arthur Rosenthal, director of the press. Some of the newly emerging material offers new insights into Freud's agonizing over the reality of the reported seductions.

For example, in early 1901, according to an unpublished letter, Freud showed a colleague, Oscar Rie, his study of "Dora," soon to become a landmark case in psychoanalysis. "It gave him little pleasure," Freud revealed to his beloved friend Fliess in the newly disclosed letter of March 3, 1901, cited by Dr. Masson at Yale.

"I will make no further attempts to break through my isolation," Freud added despairingly. "The time is otherwise bleak, outstandingly bleak."

When he wrote to Fliess about the Dora case, the 44-year-old Freud was in a quandary. The tale of family sexual entanglements and betrayal coaxed from the hysterical 18-year-old Dora on Freud's couch was lurid indeed. Dora's father was having a love affair with Frau K., a neighbor. In turn, Herr K., the husband, had in effect been given a free hand to seduce Dora starting at age 14 — or rather to try, for she fought off his advances. Meanwhile Dora and Frau K. shared a close relationship as confidantes.

The facts, which Freud did not dispute, might have seemed to indict Dora's pathogenic environment as the cause of her headaches, fever, loss of voice and coughing spells.

Freud had in fact begun with such an environmental theory of neurosis, although it postulated asexual trauma in infancy, which was apparently not the case with Dora. "Have I revealed the great clinical secret to you?" he wrote Fliess in a published letter of Oct. 15, 1895. "Hysteria is the consequence of a presexual sexual shock."

"In my analyses," Freud added on April 28, 1897, quoting what he had told a sexually abused patient, "I find it's the closest relatives, fathers or brothers, who are the guilty men."

But in a momentous turnabout, Freud wrote Fliess on Sept. 21, 1897, "Let me tell you straight away the great secret which has been slowly dawning on me in recent months. I no longer believe in my neurotica, or seduction theory. The reason, he explained, was that in every case "blame was laid on perverse acts of the father" — his own included. Freud noted in a mysterious phrase that was excised from the published letters. But Freud added, "it was hardly credible that perverted acts against children were so general."

Still, he wavered, not publishing his doubts for at least six more years, and never totally repudiating the reality of seductions, which, it has been noted, do not necessarily preclude the instinctual infantile drives.

On Dec. 12, 1897 — nearly two months after announcing to Fliess that he no longer believed in the reality of such patient accounts — Freud wrote Fliess, in a passage excised from the published letters, "my confidence in the father-etiologic has risen greatly." The reason, Freud explained, was that his patient Emma Eckstein, who was analyzing patients of her own, had obtained results giving credence to actual seductions by the father.

Further evidence that Freud remained torn over the seduction theory comes in another unpublished passage of a letter of Dec. 22, 1897. In it Freud provided Fliess a stark case history that Freud wrote "speaks for the intrinsic authenticity of infantile trauma": A patient Freud said had been raped at the age of 2 by her father claimed to remember as a 3-year-old, seeing her sadistic father anal raping her mother. The graphic details convinced Freud that the account could not have been made up and he concluded the letter, borrowing from Goethe: "A new motto: What has one done to you, poor child? But now enough of my filthy stories."

The last two sentences were excised from the published version without even the customary ellipses showing an editorial cut.

Dora Case

But by 1905, when the Dora case was published, Freud had made an about face. Dora's hysteria, Freud concluded, stemmed not from any external reality but an innate Oedipal drive, a daughter's instinctive sexual love for the father. Nor was this an exceptional conclusion for Freud.

In a paper called "On Freud's Blindness," two New York analysts, Dr. Milton Klein and Dr. David Tribich, reviewed Freud's five major case studies, including Dora, and concluded that Freud repeatedly described destructive behavior by the parents without recognizing it as such.

"He looked to the child, and only to the child, in uncovering the causes of psychopathology," wrote Dr. Klein and Dr. Tribich, who are writing a book on Freud's seduction theory.

Dr. Klein, in another paper accepted for publication shortly in the Bulletin of the Menninger Clinic, discounted Freud's own description of the seduction theory as an early "error" which Freud said he recognized and corrected. Significantly, Dr. Klein and other scholars have noted, Freud downgraded the seduction theory and commenced a "retreat to isolation" after a hostile response from the reformed sex-pathologist Richard von Krafft-Ebing and the rest of the Vienna Psychiatric Society in 1896 — "an icy reception from the

jackasses," was the way Freud described it later to Fliess.

Dr. Masson, in his paper delivered at Yale, attributed Freud's cooling to his seduction theory in part to other skepticism by Leopold Lowenfeld, a Munich psychiatrist whom Freud greatly respected. Coming on top of Krafft-Ebing's disdainful characterization of the seduction theory as "a scientific fairy tale," Dr. Masson said, "it was simply too much for Freud. He retreated." Others, seeking to understand Freud's rejection of his seduction theory, have sought to penetrate his secretive family history.

It was only in 1968, for example, that a scholar, Joseph Sajner, discovered records in Freud's birthplace, Fribourg in Moravia (now Brno, Czechoslovakia), indicating that Freud's father, Jakob, had had not one wife but two before marrying Freud's mother, Amalie. Jakob's first wife, Sally, who died in 1852, was known as the mother of Freud's two stepbrothers but the records named another wife, Rebekka, never before mentioned in official Freud family genealogy.

Max Schur, Freud's last physician and author of the biography "Freud: Living and Dying" (International Universities Press, 1972), said the disclosure opened up the possibility of a significant family secret that may have affected Freud's development.

Called Unfortunate

Whatever factors went into Freud's turnabout, some scholars have felt the original theory was cogent and its repudiation unfortunate.

As far back as 1932, Sándor Ferenczi, a patient and longtime intimate disciple of Freud, took issue with the master on the reality of childhood sexual abuse. "Even children of very respectable, sincerely puritanical families fall victim to real violence or rape much more often than one had dared to suppose," he wrote in a paper entitled, "Confusion of Tongues Between Adults and the Child."

Mr. Ferenczi continued: "The immediate explanation — that these are only sexual fantasies of the child, a kind of hysterical lying — is unfortunately made invalid by the number of such confessions, e.g. of assaults upon children, committed by parents actually in analysis." Mr. Ferenczi's portrait of pathetically adoring children subordinated "like automata to the will of the aggressor," and his assertion "that we shall have to revise certain chapters of the theory of sexuality of genitality" did little to mend his breach with Freud.

Partly in reaction against this Freudian orientation, some new schools of psychology now hold that the child is drawn to the parents not out of instinctual Oedipal cravings but simpler yearnings for love.

"Why oh why couldn't Freud believe his own ears?" Dr. Karl Menninger of the Menninger Foundation in Topeka, Kan., wrote Dr. Klein in accepting his paper. "Why did he knuckle under to those who said, 'Oh, people don't DO those dreadful things to children.' They are still saying that, just as some people say there was no Holocaust, is no torture, etc."

Even in the Menninger facilities set up to assist wayward youngsters, Dr. Menninger added "Seventy-five percent of the girls we accept at the Villages have been molested in tender childhood by an adult. And that's today in Kansas! I don't think Vienna in 1900 was any less sophisticated."

Theater in England

'Chapter Two' Brings Out Painful Side of Neil Simon

By Sheridan Morley
LONDON — The British have never understood Neil Simon any more than Americans have ever really understood Alan Ayckbourn.

Hollywood movie with James Caan. What separates it from much of Simon's earlier work is that it is at times a painfully autobiographical account of a successful writer trying to come to terms with the death of a beloved first wife and the possibility of starting out again with a second.

When we first meet George Schneider (played by Garry Whalton, who bears a certain resemblance to Simon at his most depressed) he is newly returned from the European vacation he has taken with his brother Leo to get over the funeral. It has not been a success: "London was bankrupt, Italy on strike, France hated me and Spain was still mourning Franco."

Coincidentally some of the earliest scripts he ever wrote, for Phil Silvers as "Sergeant Bilko" almost 30 years ago, are getting reruns on late-night British television and the chance of seeing them again neatly highlights the development of

Simon as a comic dramatist. Unlike "Bilko," most of his stage plays have been some form of autobiographical. "Barefoot in the Park" was about life with his first wife, "Odd Couple" about life with his brother. In "Chapter Two" we still have the brother (played by George Layton) and we also have the character unashamedly modeled on the second and present Mrs. Simon, actress Marsha Mason (intelligently and sharply played by Maureen Lipman).

She it is who picks up the pieces of George Schneider after that catastrophic European vacation and gradually builds them into a husband again, this time for her. The process is slow, sometimes and unusual for Simon, even tedious. Throughout the play the gradual building of a second marriage is only interrupted by a subplot (again unusual for Simon), a prising inadequacy, involving the brother and another actress friend, arguably the two least rewarding roles to have emerged from a four-character comedy since Noel Coward's "Four Weddings and a Funeral."

But if you can look beyond a substantial subplot and a curious tendency of the play to come to a grinding halt about an hour into each of its two acts, there is still a lot to be said for "Chapter Two."

Next to Christmas, George remarks at one point, loneliness is the biggest business in America and the play is in essence made up of two continuing and concurrent dialogues about how to avoid it. The one George has with Jennie, the eventual second wife, concerns the feasibility and ramifications of remarriage; the one he has with his brother, newly arrived at infidelity, is about the state of marriage itself. "The trouble is that it's so relentless every morning you wake up and it's still there."

Human Condition
To those who have long maintained that there was always more truth about humanity in "Bilko" than in a hundred psychiatric textbooks, it comes as reassuring to discover that Simon is still on about the human condition, and after the sketchy disappointments of both "Plaza Suite" and "California Suite," it is good to find him here taking on one major theme and following it through.

The director, Peter James, in his first production at the theater he now manages, has paid Simon the compliment of a serious production in which the company of four is sharply confined to what lies in and beneath the text. There are no jokes here that do not come out of character or situation. None of the easy ways out have been taken, and as a result this is sometimes a very chilly evening indeed.

Simon seems to have foreseen most of the pitfalls: Given a fundamentally soap-opera situation he undercuts it by having one character coming home from working on an episode of "As the World Turns." George himself acknowledges that he is doing "two shows a day of suffering" and yet for all their edge self-deprecation the two central characters eventually find their way to some home truths about life and death, past and future, loneliness and the pathological inability to accept happiness which many more "serious" dramatists would shy away from.

"Chapter Two" is around the edges a very dark play. It is also about a writer in a panic fleeing up blind alleys in search of the one line that might get him out of trouble. What makes it among the most important comedies of our time is that in the end the play itself does not opt for the same flight: It comes back down the alley, faces reality and reports on it. Not always favorably.

Russians Restoring 700-Year-Old Church

MOSCOW — Soviet experts have almost completed the piecemeal rebuilding of a 700-year-old church that was razed by German forces during World War II, the Tass press agency said.

The church, in the village of Kovalyov, south of Leningrad, had been chosen for special attention because its frescoes were considered among the finest in Russia, the report said.

Restoration meant sifting through piles of rubble and piecing together thousands of its fragments. Tass said the work had been going on for 20 years.

Art

Edo Treasures of Japan Due in London

By R.W. Apple Jr.
New York Times Service

LONDON — Britain is about to experience four months of near-total exposure to the culture of another island nation: Japan.

The occasion is an exhibition of treasures from the politically calm and culturally rich Edo period, from 1600 to 1868, when the country was almost closed to the West. More than 700 objects have been assembled for a show at the Royal Academy opening on Oct. 24.

Sir Hugh Casson, the academy's president, describes the exhibition as "the most ambitious, the most logistically complicated and the most costly that we have ever undertaken."

Naruchi Fujiyama, the Japanese ambassador in London, said: "Not only has such an exhibition never been held overseas, but in fact no exhibition on such a scale has ever been held in Japan. If I visit to see these objects in Japan, I would have to go to so many places that I doubt it would be possible to do it in a single lifetime."

Surrounding the show will be a barrage of events dealing with things Japanese. The Victoria and Albert Museum, the National Maritime Museum at Greenwich and the British Museum, among others, plan subsidiary exhibitions. The BBC has scheduled several television programs. Japanese films are to be shown at the National Film Theatre. Puccini's "Madama Butterfly" is to be staged by the Royal Opera, and Stephen Sondheim's musical "Pacific Overtures" is to be produced at the Mermaid Theatre.

Fad for Things Japanese Anticipated
Some local tastemakers are predicting a craze for Japanese fashions and motifs as a result, and the London auction houses are anticipating a boom in the prices of Japanese art works next winter.

"The Great Japan Exhibition," its official title, will come as the climax to a series of Royal Academy blockbusters. In the winter of 1975-76 there was a China show, in 1976-77 there was a porcelain show, and in 1978-79 there was a show called "The Gold of El Dorado." All were enormously successful.

There is little prospect that the Japan exhibition will travel anywhere else after it closes on Feb. 21. Many of the pieces are seldom shown in Japan.

cause they are extremely fragile — so fragile that to avoid excessive exposure to daylight, about 400 art objects will be withdrawn during a weeklong Christmas break and replaced by similar objects. For example, a pair of six-fold screens called "Five Trees in the Snow" will be replaced by a pair called "Wistaria" by the same artist, Okuyama.

Five years of negotiation and planning have gone into the exhibition, which will cost more than \$4 million. Half a dozen British companies with business links to Japan, headed by the Midland Bank, have underwritten it, along with the Japan Foundation.

More Than 200 Leaders
Paintings on scrolls and on screens will share the academy's rooms with ceramics, books, arms and armor, prints (including a number by the great 19th-century master Hokusai), calligraphy, sculpture, textiles and lacquerware. Almost all have been sent from Japan. Many come from Japanese temples and palaces, where they are normally shown only in September and October. A number have been lent by the Imperial Collection. There are more than 200 leaders in all.

One of the highlights, according to the organizers, will be the display of Noh robes and Kabuki costumes, characterized by intense colors and a wide variety of patterns. The academy's Central Hall is to be all silver except for the Noh collection. Another centerpiece will be an imperial palanquin, or carriage.

The Edo period, which corresponds in British history to the era between the reigns of Queen Elizabeth I and Queen Victoria, was the heyday of the shoguns, or warlords, who ruled in Edo (modern-day Tokyo) while the emperors reigned in Kyoto. Except for a single Dutch trading post on an offshore island, Japan was sealed off from the rest of the world, a situation that lasted until the arrival of Commodore Matthew Perry's ships in 1853.

The Japanese government is believed to have agreed to the show in the hope of countering the negative image that aggressive Japanese trade policies have generated in this country, in Continental Europe and, to a lesser degree, in the United States. In the past, curators in Japan have been reluctant to permit the country's rarest art treasures to go abroad.

NYSE Nationwide Trading Closing Prices Aug. '26

Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street.

NYSE Nationwide Trading Closing Prices Aug. '26. Multiple columns of stock market data including stock symbols, prices, and volume.

Toronto Stocks

Closing Prices, August 25, 1981

Toronto Stocks table listing various stocks and their closing prices.

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High Low Close Chg table listing various stocks and their closing prices.

Eurocurrency Interest Rates

Aug. 26, 1981

Eurocurrency Interest Rates table showing interest rates for various currencies.

European Stock Markets

Aug. 26, 1981

(Closing prices in local currencies)

European Stock Markets table listing stock prices in Amsterdam, Brussels, London, and Zurich.

Brussels

Brussels table listing stock prices in Brussels.

Frankfurt

Frankfurt table listing stock prices in Frankfurt.

Milan

Milan table listing stock prices in Milan.

Paris

Paris table listing stock prices in Paris.

London

London table listing stock prices in London.

Zurich

Zurich table listing stock prices in Zurich.

International Income Fund advertisement with logo and text describing investment options.

Montreal Stocks table listing stock prices in Montreal.

Canadian Indexes

Canadian Indexes table listing various Canadian market indexes.

Large table of stock market data, likely a continuation of the NYSE data or other market indices.

BUSINESS NEWS BRIEFS

Pratt & Whitney, Rolls Royce in Engine Talks

EAST HARTFORD, Conn. — United Technologies Pratt & Whitney Aircraft subsidiary said Wednesday it is holding discussions with state-owned Rolls-Royce of Britain to explore the establishment of a joint venture company to develop and market a new commercial jet engine of 25,000 pounds thrust.

Midland Studying Fed Conditions on Merger

NEW YORK — Midland Bank Ltd. has expressed disappointment that Federal Reserve approval of its acquisition of Crocker National Bank requires Midland to divest itself of its Thomas Cook travel agency and to reduce its holding in European-American Bank.

2 S&Ls Seek Approval for Brokerage Operation

WASHINGTON — Two savings and loan associations have requested government permission to establish a national brokerage corporation that would enable their customers to buy and sell stocks and bonds through their local S&Ls.

Zaire's Economic Strategy Spawns Cautious Optimism

by Alan Cowell New York Times Service KINSHASA, Zaire — Westerners who monitor Zaire's broken economy are, for the first time in years, displaying a glimmer of satisfaction about this vast and turbulent nation's handling of its economic affairs.

Secret Coffee Trade

Similarly, people are laboring industriously in the eastern Kivu Province on the coffee crop, travelers report, and working with equal zeal on shipping up to half the beans clandestinely through the Sudan.

IMF Supervision

"This is important," one economist said. "Last year, Zaire recorded its first growth in years — 1.3 percent. The reason was that goods could be imported with black money, and the economy grew."

Malaysia Oil Cut

KUALA LUMPUR — Malaysia's National Petroleum Co. disclosed Wednesday that the state-controlled oil company had reduced its production by about 17 percent and lowered prices \$4.20 a barrel last month.

U.S. Buys Mexican Oil For Reserve at \$31.80

By Thomas W. Lippman Washington Post Service WASHINGTON — Mexico initiated last week's sale of nearly 110 million barrels of oil to the U.S. Strategic Petroleum Reserve, and the United States agreed to the deal without competitive bidding because the Mexicans offered bargain prices and assured supplies, the head of the reserve said Tuesday.

Capital-Hungry India on Borrowing Spree

By Tyler Marshall Los Angeles Times Service NEW DELHI — India has embarked on an unprecedented international borrowing spree in an attempt to revitalize its ailing industries and reduce the huge balance-of-payments deficits that have been caused mainly by the high cost of imported oil.

U.S. Sees 45% Of Brazil Coffee Damaged by Frost

WASHINGTON — Almost half of next year's coffee crop in Brazil, the world's largest coffee producer, may have been damaged by frost last month, the U.S. Agriculture Department said Tuesday.

U.S. Sees 45% Of Brazil Coffee Damaged by Frost

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COMPANY REPORTS

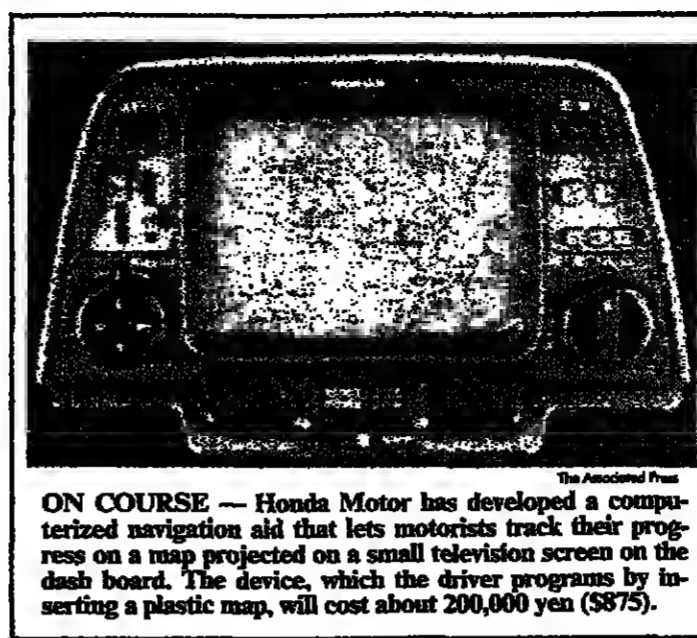
Table with 4 columns: Company Name, 2nd Qtr. Revenue, 2nd Qtr. Profits, Per Share. Includes Britain (Int'l Thomson Organisation), Netherlands (Estel nv Hoesch-Hoogovens), and London Commodities.

London Commodities

Table with 4 columns: Commodity, High, Low, Close, Previous (Close). Includes SUGAR, COCOA, COFFEES, and GAZOLIN.

BEAT INFLATION GUARANTEED

Advertisement for a deposit account with inflation protection. Features interest rates for Dollar, Pesa, Dollar (U.S.), Sterling, Franc (French), Mark (Deutsch), and Franc (Swiss). Includes a 'NET RETURN' section and a 'NO TAX' box.



ON COURSE — Honda Motor has developed a computerized navigation aid that lets motorists track their progress on a map projected on a small television screen on the dash board.

N.Y. Stock Prices Ease With Drop in Turnover

NEW YORK — New York stock prices closed lower in slow, featureless trading as investors moved to the sidelines to wait for some news that might improve the economic outlook.

CURRENCY RATES

Table of interbank exchange rates for Aug. 26, 1981, excluding bank service charges. Lists rates for various currencies like D.M., S.F., S.P., D.K., etc.

Dollar Values

Table of dollar values for various currencies and commodities. Includes columns for Currency, Par, and Dollar Values.

Large advertisement for Citicorp Overseas Finance Corporation N.V. Features the headline 'U.S. \$100,000,000' and 'Guaranteed Zero Coupon Notes Due August 15, 1984'. Lists various international branches and guarantors.

Advertisement for Jet Aviation Private Jet Services. Includes the text 'Europe's leading management and charter company for business jets.' and 'JET AVIATION PRIVATE JET SERVICES'.

NYSE Nationwide Trading Closing Prices Aug. 26

Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street.

Table of NYSE Nationwide Trading Closing Prices for August 26, 1981, listing various stocks and their prices.

U.S. COMMODITY PRICES

Table of U.S. Commodity Prices for August 26, 1981, including Chicago Futures and New York Futures.

International Monetary Market

Table of International Monetary Market prices for August 26, 1981.

Market Summary

Tuesday's NYSE Actives

Table of Tuesday's NYSE Actives for August 26, 1981.

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Tuesday's NYSE Actives

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PUT YOUR MONEY WHERE THE NEWS IS.

AMEX Nationwide Trading Closing Prices Aug. 26

Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street.

Large table of AMEX Nationwide Trading Closing Prices for August 26, 1981, listing various stocks and their prices.

Selected Over-the-Counter

Table of Selected Over-the-Counter closing prices for August 26, 1981, including various international and domestic securities.

European Gold Markets

Table of European Gold Markets prices for August 26, 1981, showing gold prices in London and Zurich.

Gold Options (prices in \$/oz)

Table of Gold Options prices for August 26, 1981, listing call and put options for various gold prices.

Tokyo Exchange

Table of Tokyo Exchange closing prices for August 26, 1981, listing various Japanese stocks.

European Options Exchange

Table of European Options Exchange closing prices for August 26, 1981, listing various European options.

Advertisement for Tokyo Pacific Holdings N.V., listing weekly net asset value and information for January 1, 1980, and August 24, 1981.

Large advertisement for Ontario Hydro U.S. \$ 150,000,000 16% U.S. Dollar Bearer Bonds of 1981/1991, featuring logos and a list of participating banks.

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The world at your finger tips. Herald Tribune. Invisic. In depth. International.

Red Smith

'Million's' \$1,100 Baby

New York Times Service NEW YORK — Flanked by two mounted cops, Mayor Jane Byrne of Chicago rode a horse in a parade the other day, which may not tell us a lot about politics in the Second City but does suggest that the town is in a tizzy over the upcoming Arlington Million, America's richest race for thoroughbreds.

Hull to Attempt NHL Comeback

New York Times Service NEW YORK — Bobby Hull, among the most prolific scorers in National Hockey League history, will try to win a job as a left wing with the New York Rangers.

Celtics, Blue Jays Contest Rights to Ainge

From Agency Dispatches NEW YORK — The Toronto Blue Jays and the Boston Celtics of the National Basketball Association launched legal actions Tuesday in a struggle for the rights to infielder and former college basketball star Danny Ainge.



Danny Ainge Forcing Rangers' Mario Mendoza at third Tuesday in Toronto.

Lamp Loses No-Hitter in 9th As White Sox Down Brewers

From Agency Dispatches MILWAUKEE — Dennis Lamp, making only his second start of the season, carried a no-hitter into the ninth inning Tuesday night before Robin Yount led off with a double as Chicago beat Milwaukee, 5-1.

BASEBALL ROUNDUP

Rusty Kuntz made a diving attempt to catch the ball, barely missing it. "He hit me on the hand and it fell in," said Yount. "If you said you're not trying to break the no-hitter, you're lying."

Transactions

AMERICAN LEAGUE CLEVELAND — Placed Andre Thornton, first baseman, on the 15-day disabled list. Oakland Bob Lacey, pitcher, to Charleston of the International League.

Major League Standings

Table showing Major League Standings for American League and National League, including teams like Detroit, Baltimore, Milwaukee, and their respective records.

INTERNATIONAL EXECUTIVE OPPORTUNITIES

CHOMERICS advertisement for Regional Sales Manager in Saudi Arabia. Includes text about company growth, job responsibilities, and contact information for ARN & ASSOCIATES.

EMPLOYMENT

SECRETARIAL POSITIONS AVAILABLE International Accounting Firm in PARIS (near ETOILE) requires 2 EXPERIENCED BILINGUAL SECRETARIES

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

(Continued from Back Page) EMPLOYMENT DOMESTIC POSITIONS AVAILABLE SEE ADVERTISING AU PAIR / au pair (2 young children) to travel with photo-graphic equipment. No job required. Tel 019 21 97 even, Paris

LEGAL SERVICES

U.S. IMMIGRATION, VISAS, Business Services. Jeffrey Sordal, N.Y. Attorney in PARIS. Tel. Paris 273 30 19.

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INTERNATIONAL SALES OPPORTUNITY advertisement for Ortho-Kinetics, Inc. Multi-national U.S. based company requires sales/marketing executive for continued aggressive expansion into European markets.

ESORTS & GUIDES advertisement listing various travel services and agencies such as Portman Escort Agency, London Escort Agency, and Zurich Escort Service.

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